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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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EAST EUROPE REPORT  
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SLOVENE DAILY DISCUSSES ROMANIA'S PROBLEMS WITH EAST, WEST

Soviets Stress Greater Bloc Discipline

Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 14 May 83 p 19

[Article by Danilo Slivnik: "Romania and the East--Differences Corrode Unity"]

[Excerpts] Moscow, May--The admonitions and criticisms which have been dispatched from Moscow to Bucharest in recent days indicate that, lately, tensions have been rising within the Eastern bloc. The increasing economic problems and the unresolved issue of cooperation within CEMA make the process of social and economic integration more difficult. From the very beginning, this process has been developing in the shadow of determined demands for the ideological and political unity of the Eastern European socialist community.

Most likely it was precisely the apparent unity of the East European socialist states which gave rise, most unexpectedly, to the April attack on the Romanian periodical CONTEMPORANUL which supported national criteria in the area of international relations.

Many of these things are connected with the changes which have taken place in Moscow with the arrival of a Soviet leadership which, in general, is in favor of greater bloc discipline; these problems are connected to a lesser extent with fluctuations in relations between the two countries. It has often happened that changes in the top leadership of the Soviet party heralded a more determined Soviet line in international relations, as if it were possible to better resist the "widespread penetration" of Americanism, which is possibly causing opposition in the Soviet Union.

The Soviet weekly NOVOYE VREMYA which was used by Moscow circles for the attack on CONTEMPORANUL openly stated and warned that insistence on national criteria, which independence signifies, leads to neglect of "class criteria" in international relations and to considerations which "in no way benefit socialism and international worker solidarity." According to this view, the Romanian newspaper and all those in Bucharest who share these ideas serve the "opposition" and interests which are not in harmony with today's "international realities" in which one superpower is in favor of "peace and progress" and the other is for "war and international hegemony."

Although the Soviet criticisms referred to Vasile Iota, the author of the "sinful" thoughts in CONTEMPORANUL, there is practically no doubt here that the target of the criticism is actually the Romanian party and government which, in international relations and internal structure, has been opposed to bloc dictatorship for a number of years.

For two years, the Romanians have been the first ones to firmly demand the convocation of a summit meeting of all CEMA members at which the participants would try to resolve the most important problems of mutual economic cooperation and the Romanians were also the ones who protested the most when the conferences were postponed from one "quarter" to another. As we know, in the most recent conference of secretaries of the central committees of the CEMA member countries, held in Moscow at the end of April, no May meeting date was set.

What happened in the preparatory talks was that it came to light that there are still many problems, such as the distribution of raw materials and industrial cooperation and issues regarding the less-developed CEMA members.

The question of energy is a more serious one. The initial plan for the sharing of raw materials and energy within CEMA is no longer adequate. Therefore, many are calling for a complete change of the structure which serves as the basis for the operation of the Eastern economic alliance. The strongest supporters of this are those states which have outgrown the production model of real socialism and which are seeking the road to reform within their own economies.

The Romanians who have been associated with the Hungarians, Poles, Czechs and Cubans in many demands, have extensive grounds for impatience. Their economy is just behind Poland in so far as problems are concerned. During this quarter there have been serious production problems which have brought the government in Bucharest to the point of postponing the payment of some Western credits for months.

The import of crude oil has caused the biggest headache for the Romanian Government. For half the crude oil it imports it has to make payment in foreign currency. In Moscow they do not seem to be willing to increase supplies of oil to Romania so Romania can get hard currency; on the contrary, they are demanding payment in American dollars. Some say that this is some sort of "punishment" for the headstrong Romanians who have not been willing to accept the international "division of labor" in the socialist community and who, seeking to achieve a more rapid industrialization of the country, constructed an over-sized petrochemical industry (with a capacity of 30 million tons a year, while the country's own crude oil production amounts to 14 or 15 million tons a year).

Ceausescu, who, in recent months, expressed some very critical remarks about economic cooperation in CEMA and recently sharpened his independent position in regard to international issues, possibly as a preliminary move before a visit to Moscow for a few days for a summit meeting and to talk

with the Soviet leaders about unsettled problems. No one knows exactly when the meeting of heads of state of the countries belonging to the Eastern economic alliance will be held. Some say that it cannot take place before the end of the year and the two preparatory sessions of the CEMA executive committee will be held in June and September.

In the opinion of some people, there might be at this time somewhat of a "softening" of the intransigence and also of the ideological pressures on all countries which have been increasing in recent days on the part of Moscow. The attack of the Soviet weekly NOVOYE VREMYA on the CONTEMPORANUL author last week was connected with the attack on the Romanian writer in LITERATURNAYA GAZETA. LITERATURNAYA GAZETA accused Dumitru Popescu, a member of the top Romanian leadership, of "anti-Sovietism" and reproached him for seeking to overturn "historical truths" which both parties confirmed long ago. In the campaign to unite the "socialist ranks," to which Romanians are subjected most extensively, Marshal Viktor Kulikov, the commander-in-chief of the Warsaw Pact forces is intensively involved. In recent weeks, he visited all the Eastern European capitals with new bills for weapons and he wrote, in a threatening manner, in the 1 May issue of PRAVDA, that security in today's world "is not assured by separate defense systems but only by the support of the entire socialist community."

Once such a military "unity" is achieved, it will compensate for economic problems.

#### Emigration Taxes, Debt Problems

Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 14 May 83 p 19

[Article by Marjan Sedmak: "Romania and the West--Dispute Over Taxes for Emigres"]

[Excerpts] Romania, whose foreign policy has fought for a character which is "independent" (of the severe methods of direction which are in force for the "coagulation" of the camp of the states of "real" socialism), has had, in recent months, more difficulties in her relations with the most important Western countries, especially the United States.

The reason for the deterioration is the decree which the Romanian Government issued last October requiring that all applicants for emigration pay back the cost of their education. Romania is going through a difficult period in which, because of economic involvements, some other political wounds are being opened, from political opposition to the complications which result from the unresolved national minority problem--all of which have increased the number of people who want to emigrate to the West. This is one more obstacle to emigration. Since Romanian citizens cannot have foreign currency, the only possibility left for emigres is to "buy" souls.

Therefore, even in the West they recognize that the October action was a Draconian one. Because of the emigration of the most highly trained cadres,



Romania has suffered serious losses in recent years. This loss is all the more severe since the number of requests for approval of immigration visas has increased at a time when Romania is experiencing exceptionally serious economic difficulties. Therefore, it is understandable why Romania was the country which presented to the United Nations General Assembly a draft resolution calling for the establishment of an international system of compensation for the emigration of skilled workers and for the "brain drain," from the developing countries to the industrially developed countries.

According to some estimates, prepared in the West, in light of the emigration figures of previous years, the Romanian Government decree would affect about 20,000 applicants for emigration a year, with a "value" of about one-half a billion dollars. About 13,000 of these people want to emigrate to the FRG, about 25,000 to the United States and about 1,500 to Israel. The prospective emigres include a large number of Romanian Germans (Transylvanian Saxons) and this fact enabled the Romanian Government to achieve another foreign policy objective. According to some reports, Ceausescu made an agreement in 1978 with Social Democratic Party Chancellor Schmidt that 11,000 Romanian citizens of German descent would be allowed to emigrate from Romania each year--in exchange for some economic advantages for Romania. There are reports that the taxes will not be applied in the case of emigres of German descent and the Chief Rabbi of Bucharest has stated publicly that they will not apply for Jewish emigres who want to go to Israel. However, the Romanian Government began to enforce the decree in mid-February and the action has had two effects--both very unfavorable for Bucharest. Political unrest has occurred inside the country because of the emigration blockade. The Romanians are not benefitting at all from the difficult situation since the Romanian Government has, obviously, ruined any possibility that the West might deal with its economic difficulties with the expected or appropriate decree of understanding. The Bonn government--with the Christian Democrats in power--took a tough stand in regard to Romanian economic requests to the EEC, the IMF and the IBRD and there is no sign that the West German position will be changing. The reaction from Washington was worse and more political. On 3 March, Reagan decided, on the basis of the Jackson-Vanik amendment of 1974, that as of 1 July Romania would no longer be eligible for most favored nation treatment.

Romania considered the American position to be interference in internal affairs and "discrimination" on the part of the Americans. In a statement, which the Soviet press reported, with satisfaction, on 7 March, the Romanians presented arguments intended to justify the decree, arguments which were all reproaches for unallowable interference in Romanian internal affairs.

Romanian debts to the West amount to 10 billion dollars and because of lack of cash, in 1983 Romania suspended the payment of the principal and is making irregular interest payments, while, at the same time, asking Western bankers to agree to reschedule the repayment of the loans. Last year, Romania reduced her trade with the West, cutting exports by a billion dollars (from 7.2 to 6.2 billion dollars) and reducing imports from 7 to 4.7 billion dollars).

The traditionally good relations between Romania and France have deteriorated recently. Romania is criticizing France for permitting the activity of Romanian emigres and opponents of Romanian policy while the French are attacking the Romanians for engaging in espionage. Nevertheless, Romania with her independent foreign policy, irrespective of her very rigid and centralized internal system, which is criticized in the West for failure to understand the issue of civil and political freedoms, is still the country in the Eastern camp with which the West especially desires to have a dialogue.

CSO: 2800/302

## NEED FOR PARTY CADRES TO WORK IN PRODUCTION

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 16 Apr 83 p 1

["Editorial: The Work of the Cadres in Production is Important in Their Revolutionization"]

[Text] Included in the series of measures taken by the Party to revolutionize the life of the country and the cadres is the decision taken sixteen years ago for every office employee to contribute 15 to 30 days of work directly in production. This important measure with ideological content has completely proved in practice the value of further revolutionizing the cadres. Our workers and peasants have continued to do good, socially beneficial work because this has been the consistent guideline of the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha. Their massive participation ever since the first years after the liberation, in the reconstruction and construction of the country, in national and local activities, especially the participation of entire generations of youth, from whose ranks so many cadres have emerged, is a beautiful and useful tradition. This tradition has been continually encouraged and enriched by our party. Our cadres have accepted and implemented it conscientiously and with enthusiasm, because it has helped to bind them more closely to the life of the people; to know their joys and sorrows and become better formed revolutionaries. In taking the decision to work 15 to 30 days directly in production, the party has had and has the intention, in conjunction with other matters, to further revolutionize the cadres and struggle against the danger of their bureaucratization, so they can become identified with the masses. The bitter experience of the revisionist countries testified to the dangers that socialism faces when the cadres are separated from the masses; especially when this danger is not fought constantly and daily and the virus of bureaucratization takes hold.

The cadres, from different levels and sectors, working closely with the masses, in uninterrupted production work, feel and understand better the difficulties and problems which occur outside the office where they work. Without in the least minimizing the importance and role of the cadres, we must say that it is the masses that make the revolution and build the new socialist society. The better the cadres recognize this truth, the better they will become one with the masses and the better they will accomplish the duties they have been assigned in the service of the people, the fatherland and socialism.

While working and struggling jointly with the masses, the cadres see in practice the correctness of implementing the decisions that have been taken, the guidance they provide and the positions they maintain. Practice, as is well known, is the criterion of truth. Therefore, here in the mirror of the actual struggle, on the terrain, the cadres better see and test the activities they direct. Here they enrich their knowledge and experience and become better trained.

These basic requirements have been used and will continue to be used in the future. Therefore, the Central Committee of the party recommends that work in production continue to be used and evaluated better so as to serve as successfully as possible the goals of the party.

In general, the cadres have a good understanding of the situation and participate directly in production. However, the avoidance of work by a few people and their attempts to liberalize this directive have been exposed to healthy public opinion and have been criticized as showing a negative attitude towards work and the people who work in production. The party has criticized the addition of new directives which would make production work for the cadres more bureaucratic. Their work cannot be standardized or measures in the same way as the work that is done in factories and cooperatives, because office workers do not have the same qualifications and expertise as workers in production. Every party organization, its levers, and the cadres themselves are in a position now to face up to the demands of the party in their work, and even improve upon them.

Taking into consideration of work directly the principal goal in production, the nature and working conditions of white collar workers the Central Committee has set certain differentiated requirements. During appropriate periods work directly in production by office workers, especially administrative workers will continue, especially in agriculture and construction and in various campaigns on the national and local levels. When needed, they should work in the food industry, especially during the collection and processing of agricultural products. Experience has shown that production work for administrative employees when performed in groups, outside urban areas, mostly in agricultural cooperatives and enterprises and in construction enterprises, has been much more successful.

The cadres that are sent to work in production cannot confine their activity just to direct participation in production. They must get involved in other tasks within the cooperative or enterprise where they are working. Some specialists, such as doctors and experts in art and culture are required, within the allotted time, to get more involved with the masses in their field of expertise. This is a necessity which is required by the enterprises and the economies where these specialists are sent to work. These activities together with the tasks the cadres perform in production, regardless of the fulfillment of norms, will help the cadres to get close to the masses; to live with them and their anxieties and at the same time they will indirectly benefit the economy. The Central Committee of the Party has directed that office workers in enterprises and agricultural cooperatives can, as a rule, perform their production work within the cooperative or enterprise where they are

employed during competitive drives for the repair of machinery, the expansion of departments or sections, and during drives for the repair of new lines of communication or transportation, etc. The military as always perform their work in production with their troops in activities that have to do with the defense of the country, military planning and so on, within their own military units. The teachers' work in production will encompass the usual socially beneficial work they perform, as well as their work with students in agriculture, and in many other activities.

Certain specialists, such as section engineers, agronomists, zootechnicians and veterinarians from various sectors, geologists, who are members of geological expeditions, military personnel who work with troops in sections and sub-sections, who are close to the production lines, among the workers farmers and the soldiers, under different conditions, work directly in production work is required of them as is required of administrative employees.

The party committees and the executive committees of the people's councils in the districts are fully responsible for managing this work and are given greater authority to manage it with more initiative. On the basis of the general criteria outlined by the party, they study and decide when and where the cadres will perform their production work; which cadres will and which cadres will not work in production; which cadres will work full-time and which cadres will work for a limited time only. Understanding the great importance of this work, these bodies will learn to use their authority correctly and properly. The better management of work fronts and working hours: where and when production work should be done, would increase the ideological and economic effectiveness of the work. The people who are responsible for this work, especially the cadres sectors, the party organizations in work centers and in centers where the cadres are sent to work; the cadres themselves, the masses organizations, especially the trade unions and the democratic front must feel a deeper sense of responsibility for their work. They must see that this party directive is relaxed in all requirements, especially in reaching high yields in production and in the implementation of the guidelines set.

The party requires that all party and state functionaries, perform their duties properly wherever they are sent to work. First of all, they must test their skills and abilities and their conscientiousness and determination to loyally defend and implement the party line. At the same time, all the party organizations, communists and cadres must correctly understand the important part that work directly in production plays in molding the character of our communists and state employees and must perform their tasks with high conscientiousness and great success.

Like every other problem, the implementation of this directive need to be understood better and better in its political and ideological content; it must be correctly managed, planned and organized.

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BULGARIA

YORDANOV DEFINES LITERARY, ART CRITICISM UNSATISFACTORY

Sofia NARODNA KULTURA in Bulgarian 6 May 83 pp 1-2

[Speech by Georgi Yordanov, chairman of the Committee for Culture]

[Text] The Committee for Culture and the managements of the creative unions held an expanded plenum on "The Condition and Tasks of Artistic Criticism" at the Lyudmila Zhivkova NDK [People's House of Culture] on 3 May.

The plenum was opened by Georgi Yordanov, BCP Central Committee Politburo candidate member, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the Committee for Culture. It was attended by Stoyan Mikhaylov, BCP Central Committee secretary, Georgi Dzhagarov, State Council deputy chairman, Lyubomir Pavlov, head of the BCP Central Committee Culture Department, Lalyu Dimitrov, head of the BCP Central Committee Mass Information Media Department, Stanka Shopova, Komsomol Central Committee first secretary, deputy chairmen of the Committee for Culture, chairmen of creative unions, chairmen of the OSK [Okrug Culture Councils] and noted critics and creative workers.

Reports were submitted by People's Worker in Culture Bogomil Raynov, BCP Central Committee member and first deputy chairman of the SBP [Bulgarian Writers' Union], on "Let Us Enhance Literary Criticism to the Level of Party Requirements," and People's Worker in Arts and Culture Emil Petrov, deputy chairman of the SBFD [Union of Bulgarian Film Workers], who spoke on "Problems of Artistic Criticism." Statements on the topics under discussion were made by Honored Artist Prof Konstantin Ganev, first deputy chairman of the SBK [Union of Bulgarian Composers], People's Worker in Culture Bozhidar Bozhilov, first deputy chairman of the SBP, Honored Worker in Culture Dimitur Ostoich, first deputy chairman of the SBKh [Union of Bulgarian Painters], Honored Worker in the Arts Sevelina G'orova, secretary of the SAB [Union of Bulgarian Actors], Todor Abazov, secretary of the SBZh [Union of Bulgarian Journalists], architect Todor Bulev, secretary of the SAB [Union of Bulgarian Architects], Honored worker in the Arts Atanas Stoykov, director of the Scientific Association for the Arts, Prof Dr Ivan Popivanov, and Vera Naydenova, chairman of the Criticism Section of the SBFD.

Comrade Georgi Yordanov delivered the concluding speech (which follows).

Detailed information on the speeches and statements will be published in the next issue.

## Concluding Speech by Comrade Georgi Yordanov

Dear comrades:

I believe that I am voicing the common feeling by saying that the plenum of the Committee for Culture on the state and problems of contemporary literary and artistic criticism was held in a creative spirit. It developed into a frank discussion on the active participation of criticism in the development of Bulgarian socialist culture. The reports by comrades Bogomil Raynov and Emil Petrov and the statements by the other participants clarified problems related to the civic and esthetic responsibility of criticism. We are unanimous in our views and approaches on problems outlined by the party in this important spiritual area. This excludes the need for a special summation.

Allow me to thank the speakers and all those who contributed through their statements and active creative stance to the success of our expanded plenum. The role and significance of the class-party criterion in artistic creativity and, particularly, the leading function of the class assessment in support of socialist realism and the exciting depiction of the spiritual image of the contemporary builder of a mature socialist society were discussed here extensively, thoroughly, competently and interestingly. We discussed the creative worker's vocation, which is to interpret life's phenomena profoundly in order not to sink in "petty daily events," to the detriment of what is great and essential in our contemporaneity.

The April party line brought rich results in all areas of our life. It is a prerequisite for the blossoming in the spiritual area as well. Today Bulgaria is experiencing a golden century in the development of its socialist culture. No one can deny the historical and current merits of Bulgarian criticism in the revolutionary development of socialist artistic culture. However, within the framework of the tremendous spiritual achievements we draw the legitimate conclusion that artistic criticism still falls short in meeting the requirements of Bulgarian socialist culture.

Comrade Todor Zhivkov pointed out clearly and convincingly the faults in artistic criticism at the 12th party and 14th Komsomol congresses. His instructions were approved warmly and a number of initiatives have been started in fulfilling the party's instructions. Unfortunately, there has been no substantial change and not enough is being done to surmount shortcomings. We are faced with cases of "dulled ideological and esthetic exigency" on the part of critics, editors, artistic councils and other leading organs. Poor and weak works are not being rebuffed. Is it not true that criticism has lowered its civic militancy and political aggressiveness, and that it is not on the level of its mission as an "instrument in the struggle...for the ideological and political leadership in literature and the arts?" Artistic criticism is still insufficiently helping in mastering and explaining a number of complex art phenomena and processes. It frequently remains descriptive, merely noting the events. Many published works lack theoretical depth and an analytical spirit and a principle-minded assessment of facts and processes.

The main requirement facing the critics is to write with profound professionalism, but also clearly and intelligibly for the broad readership. They must involve themselves in more summarizing studies and articles. Their duty,

based on consistent methodological and class-party positions, is to determine and tell the truth, regardless of how bitter it may occasionally be.

Other weaknesses in criticism were critically and self-critically and justifiably discussed at the plenum: Erroneous methodological assessment of some contemporary works, isolated efforts to revise our artistic heritage, violations of Marxist-Leninist criteria, separating criticism from the realities of our life, which leads to recurrences of schematism and oversimplification and disparities between the views of some critics and social assessments. We also frequently come across cases of so-called advertising criticism, the purpose of which is not entirely clean.

The accurate conclusion was drawn at the plenum that what matters is not only to notice negative phenomena in literary and artistic criticism but also to earmark the ways and means leading to a drastic improvement in its professional creative standard and its effective role in the development of our spiritual life, and the inflexible defense of the class-party criterion in artistic creativity. That is what we are talking about.

We are pleased to note that the joint session objectively assessed the condition and problems of criticism and clearly defined the means and methods for improving the work in this exceptionally important cultural area. We remember the dedication with which Lyudmila Zhivkova, the loyal daughter of Bulgaria, worked on such matters. We remember her speech at the Third Congress of Bulgarian Culture and at the Fourth Congress of Bulgarian Writers and her statements during her many meetings with creative workers. We can justifiably say that the measures we are discussing today and the actions we shall undertake are the continuation of her progress in that direction.

We unanimously agree that the quality of the work of specialized editorial staffs, arts councils and scenario and repertory commissions must be improved. It is inadmissible for the mass information media and the branches of the Committee for Culture, in which well trained cadres are at work, to allow ideological and esthetic waste and to display tolerance for immature works. We believe that the work of criticism departments should be discussed and that the most noted critics should join them. Let us consider the suitability of having a larger number of highly skilled critics join the editorial staffs of mass information media. We must systematically review the various almanachs, collections and other publications in which random views, erroneous assessments or arbitrary summations frequently sneak in.

The Committee for Culture is convinced of the need for the adoption of efficient measures for the development of some directions in artistic criticism. The situation with criticism is poor in television, architecture and music. Thus, for example, we are frequently satisfied with an informative-advertising presentation of a work of art on the small screen. The criticism of television productions does not always come from the best trained specialists.

As was noted at this meeting, despite some achievements, movie criticism continues to suffer from ideological short-sightedness, subjective assessments and condescension toward poor works. The same applies to theater criticism.



Talented writers are at work in the graphic arts. They have produced serious monographs on Bulgarian and foreign art. However, it is abnormal that here as well there is frequently a lack of profound and overall evaluations of large collective and individual works and that the fatal nature of the life-art dilemma is frequently bypassed.

Such examples could be extended to other areas of artistic life. The conclusion, however, would not change: Specific measures must be taken to upgrade the ideological and artistic role of the class-party sharpness of Bulgarian criticism. We would like some critics to become more self-critical. Briefly, all the necessary prerequisites exist for the Bulgarian critics to enhance the level and efficiency of their work so that they may become, in the full meaning of the term, the just judges of our time and the loyal followers of the Marxist-Leninist traditions of our national critical heritage.

We would not be objective were we to blame exclusively criticism and the critics. The Committee for Culture, the creative unions and the creators of artistic values -- writers, painters, and theater, movie, architecture and journalism workers -- also bear the responsibility for such faults. Who could deny that mature, profound and exciting works of literature and art, which realistically depict the problems of developed socialism, its broad social and moral projections, conflicts and clashes and the prospects of a life renovating itself are not all that frequent?

Spiritual leadership is earned through specific proof, creative prestige, loyalty to class and party principles and high artistic skills. Unfortunately, some creative workers seem to live far from their own time, as though not noticing the new life which pulsates by their side, that Bulgaria has become unrecognizable, that people with ideals and creative strength are rising and that individuals who are opening the way to the future with their minds and hearts are asserting themselves. That is why, as we discuss unresolved problems of contemporary criticism, we must express the wish that the social and ideological and artistic usefulness, prestige and social significance of the literature and art of socialist realism be upgraded steadily.

The fact that creative workers and critics are working and proving themselves as artists within the same creative unions is a positive phenomenon. This is a prerequisite for unity of action in resolving the major problems of literature and art. However, we are concerned by the existence in some creative units of a mentality of adaptation, praise and publicity, avoidance of assessments and embarrassing opinions. Such practices are unworthy of us. Should we remind the creative unions that it is their duty to support criticism and to create the most favorably possible climate for critical activities serving the interests of art and society and the cause of the party and the people? This is because concern for criticism is also concern for the overall development of our socialist culture. We must talk frankly with critics who arbitrarily abandon their obligations and engage in the chase after petty ambitions and the pursuit of personal gains.

The fate of the young reinforcements in our socialist criticism is out common concern. The fact that the young do not publish frequently is not the worst. Looking at the press we would see that reviews of current artistic output are

most frequently the work of critics who are just starting in their careers. They are trained, educated and comprehensively informed on the subject of Bulgarian and foreign cultural experiences. It is now that they must accumulate creative capital and develop their reputations as objective appreciators of art. What concerns us, however, is that some young critics increase the errors we mentioned, frequently supporting immature ideological and artistic views on processes in literature and art. Serious attention must be paid to all of this, for the young creative workers are the future of our culture.

We must say for the sake of the truth that weaknesses in the development of the young critics are also our own; they are weaknesses in organizational and creative life; in editorial staffs which show an insufficiently responsible attitude toward their assignments in working with them; and also in the Committee for Culture. How if not through his exposure to the experience and maturity of noted masters will the young critic earn his certificate of civic-artistic maturity and new strength with which to defend the principles of communist artistic party-mindedness? We must respond with active initiatives to the question of the way the various leading organs and unions work with the young cadres and the nature of ties have developed between the creative unions and the higher educational institutions which train the future critics and art and literature experts? Are we not jointly responsible for some negative sides in the training and ideological-professional maturing of the young talents in the field of artistic criticism?

Our plenum is justifiably exigent toward the critics because it believes in them and in their ability to fulfill their responsible tasks creatively.

We are convinced that the Fourth Congress of Bulgarian Culture, which will be held shortly, will discuss comprehensively these problems and will give an impetus to this work.

To sum it up: We must be aware of the real state of Bulgarian criticism and ensure its new upsurge through joint efforts in a healthy and optimistic creative environment. The worsening of the current international tension and the frontal ideological pressure exerted by imperialism against peace and socialism obligate us to be even more consistent and principle-minded, to enhance our combat capability in artistic life and always to remember that we are part of a people with a worthy heritage, great present and the brightest of futures. We must fight for the truth expressed by Comrade Todor Zhivkov, the prime builder of Bulgarian socialist culture:

"The backbone of Bulgarian literature is the struggle waged by the Bulgarian people for freedom, progress and socialism; the backbone of Bulgarian literature is political. Politics and literature, and politics and art are as one."

I thank you!

5003  
CSO: 2200/91

LOW BIRTH RATE, OTHER DEMOGRAPHIC TRENDS EXAMINED

Sofia OTECHESTVO in Bulgarian No 8, 26 Apr 83 pp 8-9

[Article by Prof Dr Anastas Totev, honored worker in science: "Waiting for the Ninth Million"]

[Text] Dear editors: Allow me to address to you a remark. I am a regular reader of OTECHESTVO, which I find very much to my taste. Virtually all it includes is of interest to me. The other day, after digging into my "files," I reread your October 1975 issue. In that issue, in his article "Waiting for the Ninth Million," Comrade P. Popov, from the Population Department of the Central Statistical Administration, was answering the question of when the ninth million Bulgarian citizen will be born. "According to our projections, the happy event will take place 4 years from now, sometime in the middle of 1979," is a direct quote from the article.

According to my data for 1980, Bulgaria had a population of 8.9 million. Could such wrong statistical data damage somewhat your magazine's reputation? You should inform us whether we are or are about to become a population of nine million.

Stanyu D. Stanev  
16 Otets Paisiy Street,  
Gorna Oryakhovitsa

A letter with a similar content was also sent by the collective of the Secondary Vocational-Technical School for Industrial Construction in Sliven.

It is best for a specialist to answer such questions. To this effect, we addressed ourselves to our well-known statistician and demographer Prof Dr Anastos Totev, honored worker in science.

The development of the Bulgarian population after World War II has been characterized by a number of changes in its reproduction and demographic socioeconomic structures.

By the end of 1944 the country's population totalled 6,913,000. Now -- by the end of 1982 (beginning of 1983), preliminary data place it at 8,928,643. In 38 years it increased by 2,015,334 (more than 29 percent). This increase is substantial.

Long-term estimates lead us to expect, with a high degree of probability, that the Bulgarian population will number about 9.1 million toward the end of 1990, and about 9,250,000 by the end of the year 2000. When, however, could we expect to reach the nine million mark? Or, more specifically, when will the ninth million Bulgarian citizen be born?

The forecasts to this effect, which were made in the mid-1960s and were used by P. Popov in the OTECHESTVO article, could not accurately anticipate the drop in the birth rate, the increased mortality rate and migration up to and after 1980. That is the reason for which the precise date at which the population would reach nine million was not accurately predicted.

In forecast estimates, long-term in particular, it is not always possible to predict the situation under which the processes under consideration will develop. That is why, as time passes, such forecasts must be reviewed and, if necessary, revised.

According to more recent long-term studies, it is expected that the ninth million Bulgarian will be born toward the end of the first quarter of 1986. This projection is based on a thorough study of the conditions and causes which determine the current and future development of the natural growth rate. All available indications are that this forecast is highly accurate.

The development of the Bulgarian population as of the second half of this century (1950) may be characterized as follows:

#### Natural Growth

There has been an even increase in the size of the population which, with demographic compensation (toward 1950, when it exceeded the 100,000 figure), began to decline, with some fluctuations, as follows: by 76,000 in 1960, 62,000 in 1970, 30,000 in 1980 and 27,000 in 1981. This declining trend over the last 30 years is quite worrisome, for its is caused mainly by the declining birth rate and, to a far lesser extent, the recent increase in the mortality rate.

#### The Birth Rate

During the period under consideration the birth rate systematically declined. Before World War II it was 25 per thousand; it declined to 18 in 1960, 16 in 1970, 15 in 1980 and 14 in 1981.

Presently, each 1,000 women outside the fertile age group (14-50, during which they can conceive) are replaced by a slightly higher or slightly lower number of women who enter this age group. Before World War II, each 1,000 women who left the fertile age group were replaced by 1,250-1,300 young women.

Let us add to this that although the group of fertile-age women has maintained its relative share, it is systematically aging -- the share of young women, particularly in the 20-24 year age group, which is the most fertile, is declining. Unquestionably, this affects the birth rate quite adversely. Today the average is no more than two children per woman in the fertile age group, compared with five children under 15 before 1940.

The rapid and intensive development of the country's urbanization and industrialization and the conversion of agricultural production processes to socioindustrial conditions resulted, after 1950, to replacing the patriarchal household and way of life of the past (related mainly to petty farming and a largely self-sufficient rural household) with an emancipated urban-type family and an urban way of life in town and country, closely related to the marketplace. Unquestionably, this triggered a lengthy process of slow and difficult adaptation, which is being reflected on the birth rate and, in general, the people's outlook.

#### The Mortality Rate

During the first 2 decades which followed World War II the overall mortality rate declined rapidly: before 1940 the mortality rate averaged 15-16 per thousand; it averaged 14 per thousand in 1946, 10 in 1950, eight in 1965, nine in 1970, 10 in 1975 and 11 in 1981. There has been a systematic slight increase in the mortality rate after 1965.

On the other hand, infant mortality has been declining steadily during this entire period. More than 100 children per 1,000 under the age of one died before 1940, compared to some 20 in 1981. There is still something more to be desired despite these successes, given our circumstances: infant mortality should not exceed 10-12 per 1,000, as is the case in the Scandinavian and some other countries.

In recent years, in the course of the urbanization and industrialization of the country, some reasons developed for the increase along with the decrease in the mortality rate, such as the aging of the population, which increased the share of adults and the old; the country's industrialization and urbanization, which are related to stress at work and at home and, hence, to increased morbidity, disability and death; alcoholism, tobacco smoking and adverse ecological industrial and urban ways of life...

#### Population Aging

The population's age structure changed systematically as a result of the declining birth and mortality rates, resulting in the population's aging and extended average life span and, therefore, the slower change in generations.

We face a relative decline in the growing generation groups (under 15) and an increase in the older groups (over 60), with a slight increase in the number of people of mature working age (16 to 60).

The anticipated average life span is also increasing, currently averaging 72, with projections indicating a further slow increase.

The main processes in Bulgaria's demographic development after 1950 lead to the conclusion that a basic change has taken place in the country's population reproduction: from reproduction with a high birth and death rates and a fast change of generations to reproduction with a low birth and death rates and a slow change of generations.

Today Bulgaria's demographic development and particularly the decline in the birth rate show nothing "exclusively Bulgarian." The basic trends in the development of the country's population are similar, very similar to the conditions and trends in developed industrial and urbanized countries.

The reasons for the decline of the birth rate lie in the historically changed socioeconomic and sociocultural conditions, i.e., the changes in the functions of family households. That is why the process of a decline in the birth rate should be considered a temporary and very transient process, for it constitutes an inevitable shift from a naturally unlimited large number of children per family to families with few children.

The decline of the birth rate is a problem of major social significance, which necessarily calls for the pursuit of an effective demographic policy of encouraging births and helping newly married young people. However, we should not think of or expect a return to the high reproduction rate of the past, for as we pointed out, a declining birth rate is an irreversible historical process of transition to a new type of population reproduction. That is why the present policy of encouraging the birth rate faces the problem of avoiding the excesses of an extremely low birth rate and attaining a level which, with a respective low mortality rate, could ensure a full change of generations in the future.

Given such basic aims, today's Bulgarian demographic policy faces a number of objective difficulties and psychological barriers which it must surmount. Before a family is established, the feeling is to have a larger number of children than will actually be born later. The family is a system difficult to control, and demographic policy can affect it not only with the help of material and technical facilities but mainly through the consciousness of the married couples.

Socialist demographic policy has conclusively proved that families with two or three children are a model. In this case the interests of society (proper change of generations) fully coincide with the properly understood interests of the parents.

A widespread erroneous view must be uprooted: It is usually accepted that a two-children family ensures the population's reproduction, since two children take the place of two parents. With two-children families, however, the overall population decline is inevitable for the following reasons: some people never marry; some girls die before the age at which they could conceive; the number of newborn boys exceeds that of girls, etc. Therefore, in order to maintain the existing population size, the average family should have not two but 2.7 children. Computed otherwise, two out of every five families should have two children each, and the rest should have three. This

average, however, would merely stabilize the population's size rather than increase it.

That is why Bulgaria's demographic policy is aimed at the systematic and even increase in the size of the population in accordance with the development of social production forces. The strategy pursued through this policy is to have two- and three-children families; the tactics is to have early marriages and young mothers, without postponements in maternity.

Bulgaria's population is its greatest wealth which must be vigilantly protected, for which reason we must establish and maintain the possibly most favorable development conditions in accordance with the socialist principle of "Everything for the sake of man."

5003

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HAJEK DISCUSSES PRESENT POLITICAL TRENDS IN CSSR

Rome LA REPUBBLICA in Italian 16 Apr 83 p 14

[Interview with Jiri Hajek, foreign minister under Dubcek, by Antoine Spire:  
"The Great 'Spring' Hope Is Dead in Prague"; date and place not specified]

[Text] I met Jiri Hajek 10 days ago, on 4 April 1983, when I was a guest representative of the Committee for the Defense of Freedom in Czechoslovakia, whose chairman is Arthur London. I met Hajek 40 kilometers outside of Prague. He was Dubcek's foreign minister, one of the persons who inspired Charter 77 and one of the most fascinating persons in the Czechoslovak opposition. He describes himself as a Euro-communist and he follows European politics with great interest.

[Question] Fifteen years ago you were one of the leaders of the Prague Spring. What signs of that experience remain in Czechoslovakia?

[Answer] Unfortunately it has become part of history for most people. Today's youth know very little of those months in 1968 that the authorities officially described as a counterrevolutionary episode fortunately interrupted by the Warsaw Pact troops who came "to our aid." Since Brezhnev's death, anathema by the most active provocateurs has ceased. For this 15th anniversary, the authorities' aim seems to be to achieve silence. Naturally, those who lived through the 1968 Spring feel nostalgia for it.

But the government's capitulation at that time under the Soviet threat still is a problem that torments the supporters of "Dubcekism." There is no doubt that the people's resistance lasted longer than that of the political leadership. Thus, the protagonists of the Prague Spring have kept quiet and those in a secondary position, among whom I count myself, (you know that in the east the members of the government are much less important than the party leaders) had to take their place and contribute to the organization of Charter 77 and of the VONS (Committee for the Defense of Persons Unjustly Persecuted).

I have not seen Dubcek since 1975 and, since we are practically forbidden to travel--Dubcek still lives in isolation in Bratislava--I do not know whether he will use the 15th anniversary to finally let his voice be heard. As far as we are concerned we use the "samizdat" as best we can in order to celebrate this essential page of our history.



## The Government is Unpopular

[Question] What is the country's situation today?

[Answer] It is not rosy. Economically, we can speak of stagnation or even of recession. However that may be, the authorities are not very popular in the country. Naturally, the police are everywhere but all appeals to mobilize go unheeded.

[Question] Are there any repercussions here to Andropov's rise to power in the USSR and to the changes that seem to be taking place there?

[Answer] Andropov has a lot to do in his own house and in other situations in the Soviet bloc where conditions are much hotter. In any case, if he seems to want to reform the empire, it is certainly from a pragmatic and not a democratic point of view. Our leaders try to persuade Moscow that everything is going well, but even in this case they have little success. The Soviets well know how things are and the orientation of the new Andropov leadership certainly will have repercussions in our country.

An imitation of the Soviet campaign against corruption already has begun here, but only the little fish are caught. The big fish continue to enrich themselves with impunity. A pharmaceutical firm recently was discovered in Bratislava that produced large quantities of heroin to be shipped to the West. There is talk about customs officers being punished and of little "bosses" being arrested. For the time being, that is all. There is even a part of the Czechoslovak bureaucracy that accuses Andropov of Khrushchevism, or even of Dubcekism. At the very least this is an exaggeration, but it is significant in the conflicts that run through the party apparatus, and speculation about them runs rampant in Prague.

Hula, member of the political office, died recently. His substitution was imminent. At this point will Strougal, the head of government, run his own candidate against Bilak, the man who continues to support Cernenko? Strougal recently made a speech to the general assembly in which he praised Andropov's pragmatism. He spoke about greater respect for economic reason, a reduction of subsidies for unprofitable sectors, of greater responsibility by plant managers.

On the other hand, the administrators shrugged their shoulders hoping that this hoped-for reform would not live long. But the situation requires infinitely greater changes. The economic reform needed can be achieved only within the framework of democratization for which neither side is ready. The same can be said for this incredible waste of our economic as well as intellectual potential.

## Persecuted Catholics

[Question] And what about the opposition movement? How does the Charter, the VONS, fare? What were the repercussions to the acts of force in Poland?

[Answer] The Polish failure had a greater impact on those who favored the Charter than it did on the opposition. The tendency of many citizens to withdraw within themselves was further accentuated. We who had hoped for a compromise without many illusions have seen that there are limits beyond which the Soviet empire forbids us to go. Many of us are tired. It is not that we are giving up but that this battle amid the opposition, which has lasted for 15 years, is very hard. You know that a few weeks ago Ladislav Lis was arrested. He was accused of having contributed to the establishment of an independent peace movement. To make it look good, he was even absurdly accused of stealing two sacks of corn.

I do not know whether the corn left in front of the Czechoslovak embassy in Paris by the committees that work with Arthur London for freedom in Czechoslovakia had any connection with that event; the fact is that the accusation was dropped. Petr Uhl is still in jail. He will be in for 14 months. Benda still has 2 months to go. And I should cite many others. Repression right now is particularly hard on the Catholics. The Franciscans, who are numerous in Slovakia, are actually persecuted because those in power fear the Polish contagion.

Regarding the Czech people, they are becoming "depoliticized" because they believe they are incapable of changing the course of events. They submit to ritual so long as it is not too demanding. On 1 May there will be a parade. Those in power went so far as to call this demonstration "the march of life." There will be some participation in meetings during working hours and there will be perfunctory attendance at a "brigade of socialist labor." But the true mass movements are disappearing. We can speak of the atomization of civil society. Everyone stays home and waits. This does not display sympathy for the Charter, but sympathy is not commitment. A positive neutrality. [As published].

6034

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CRUCIAL STAGES OF UNOFFICIAL PEACE MOVEMENT ANALYZED

West German Analysis

Bonn DAS PARLAMENT in German Vol 33 No 17, 30 Apr 83 Supplement B 17/83  
pp 3-15

[Article by Peter Wensierski, West Berlin journalist (born 1954); responsible editor, KIRCHE IM SOZIALISMUS (Church in Socialism); GDR correspondent, Protestant Press Service (EPD): "Peace Movement in the GDR"]

[Text] The GDR is in the midst of one of the most interesting phases of politico-cultural upheaval in its postwar history. Under the protection of stability and continuity in its core political area that is necessary for this change, with the beginning of the 1980's a change on the inside has begun whose political significance is not yet adequately recognized in the West. The way that the new dynamic between party and society can work is particularly well illustrated by the example of the new "peace movement."

For the SED the "peace movement" up to now has simply been either the whole GDR or all of the associations generated by it, which for decades have been supposed to make autonomous activities appear superfluous. But today there are several thousand predominately young persons who have ideas of their own. They have become a factor with which the SED must learn to deal. Side by side with the state peace policy there have been separate peace ideas within the Lutheran church for decades. The Protestant churches in the GDR are the only organizations in the country that have maintained their autonomy in the face of the SED's de facto claim to sole right of representation. To this is added a special Germany policy rôle of the EKD [Evangelical Church of Germany (FRG)] and the GDR Church League, which has become especially important in peace issues.

If we look for the cause of the development of the peace movement in the GDR, we must seek it first of all in the internal political development of recent years. It is less a reaction to the model of the western peace movements than a "homemade" phenomenon. The subjects of the debate are determined by personal confrontation with the military: military training,

toy soldiers, civil defense exercises, service in the army, etc. Work for peace and the environment are often part of it. Tensions between grassroots activists, church leaderships, and the state are not lacking. In its rôle of mediator the church quickly gets out of sight of both sides into the twilight. Accusations of opportunism on one side and opposition party on the other are exchanged.

In the GDR, too, there is something like a second culture among the young. Some tens of thousands of young people in the big cities live in a sort of internal emigration with a life style that corresponds in many ways more or less to the western youth scene. There is a similar generation gap. A look at the recent literature, the latest GDR films, or the "scene" of the urban metropolises, which was begun by punks and embraces all kinds of dissidents, shows that this is already a social minority movement to be taken seriously. Thus far, however, there has been no dialog between the state and this part of its youth.

The lasting existence of such movements is something entirely new in German postwar history. They also represent a challenge to follow new paths in the policy of détente.

If an atomic bomb were detonated directly over the Brandenburger Tor, within fractions of seconds the bodies of all automobiles in Charlottenburg and in Pankow would be vaporized; in the outer suburbs of Marzahn (East Berlin) and the Märkisches Viertel (West Berlin) they would still melt. Of the bridge over the Spree with the German eagle on the Friedrichstrasse Railway Station not even the concrete pillars would be left; in Wannsee and Königswusterhausen --kilometers away from the detonation center--the clothing of pedestrians would ignite spontaneously.

This vision of an atomic inferno is sketched by a 22-year-old woman at a peace discussion in East Berlin. Struck by such specific concepts, the other participants that evening realize: Here at the seam between East and West the absurd consequence of a possible war becomes especially clear. "Since the politicians have not succeeded in getting any closer to peace in over 30 years," says the young woman from Potsdam, "we must become active ourselves--with new peace ideas."

She is no longer alone over there with such an avowal. Today we are witnessing the advent of a generation such as many would not have thought possible a few years ago. The GDR is in the midst of one of the most interesting phases of politico-cultural upheaval in its postwar history. Under the protection of stability and continuity in its core political areas that is necessary for this change, with the beginning of the 1980's a change on the inside has begun whose political significance is not yet sufficiently recognized in the West. We are too set in traditional ways of looking at things. Another factor that adds to the difficulty is that internal political processes in the GDR are all too quickly misused for political party contests in the Federal Republic. Thus the view of new developments, new attractions, and the political consequences that flow from them is blocked.

The change is not taking place spectacularly or especially sweepingly. It takes a sensitive insight to perceive it at all and to see individual changes as part of *one* whole. Efforts to get a new acceptance of history (e.g., in the Prussian and Lutheran heritage), discussions in the field of public education, changes in organizational and economic structures, developments in the cultural field, or "historic experiments"<sup>1</sup> with the churches should not be considered separately from each other. The efforts of the SED, which has come under political and economic pressure, to concede a limited process of modernization of the system in response to the demands is not recognized otherwise. It would be fatal--for Western politicians, too--to fail to realize that new factors are having a politically decisive effect.

This process does not run in a straight line. The party--differentiated within itself--cannot and will not give up control and cease to determine the tempo of development. In its policy forms it must in the main preserve conventional conformity. But the West's fixed look at the traditional political forms of the SED's stabilization of control, e.g. by restrictive measures, no longer helps with understanding today. How the new dynamic between party and society can run can be illustrated particularly well by the example of the "peace movement."

For the SED the "peace movement" in the past was simply either the whole GDR or all of the organizations generated by it, which for decades have been supposed to make autonomous activities appear superfluous. But today there are some tens of thousands--not hundreds of thousands as in the Federal Republic--of predominately young people who have their own ideas about peace initiatives. They are not seeking any hard confrontation with the authorities, and they steadily affirm that they take their own government's desire for peace seriously, but that they have different views concerning the *how* of ensuring peace.

That is by no means mere tactics to protect themselves from the clutches of the state. This is not a classical dissident movement hiding behind a theme that is timely right now and in reality wanting something quite different. It cannot be fitted into traditional systems. Precisely because in the GDR everything is organized, the participants are not. They are a movement because the personal involvement binds them together in a non-institutional way and makes them move politically somewhat. This movement is a factor that the SED must learn to live with.

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<sup>1</sup> Klaus Gysi, the GDR secretary of state for church matters, during a trip abroad that took him to London and Geneva among other places, expressed himself more theoretically on the state policy toward churches. In London on 13 May 1981, speaking to the Royal Institute for International Relations, he said in part: "One peculiarity that I should like to call to your attention is that the GDR is the only socialist country where Protestantism is in the majority. That is important, because the churches have a fundamentally different attitude toward social responsibility... They are called upon for social participation. In this context we have begun a great historic experiment in our church policy. It is difficult, but at the same time it is a challenge to the relations between state and church. And I believe it is a great chance." (Cf. EPD-DOKUMENTATION, Frankfurt, 1981, No 28, p 8.)

## I. The Long Tradition of the Churches' Work for Peace

Side by side with the state peace policy, for decades there have been independent peace ideas within the Protestant churches of the GDR. The church concept of peace is rooted in the Gospel; its constituent parts include non-violence, love of one's enemies, and faith. If we disregard the Utopia of a future without arms and without violence, there is a fundamental conflict between church responsibility for peace and the socialist concept of peace. The system-immanent stringency of the socialist understanding of peace basically admits of no third position: "According to its concept of itself the GDR is a peace state because with the upbuilding of socialism internally, social peace is realized, and its foreign policy of peaceful coexistence within the framework of the socialist alliance system is directed toward repelling imperialism and preparing the way for all peoples of the world to a permanent peace. Under this understanding narrow bounds are set to the efforts of the churches of the GDR to make a contribution of their own to peace, especially where this contribution comes out critical."<sup>2</sup>

The Protestant churches in the GDR are the only organizations in the country that have maintained their autonomy in the face of the SED's de facto claim to sole right of representation. This gives rise to a special rôle that the church does not and cannot have in, e.g., the Federal Republic, because here besides the church there are numerous other autonomous social organizations of the most varied kinds.

From the church's work for peace in the 1960's and 1970's, two examples stand out especially prominently: The advocacy of the right to refuse military service in the 1960's, and the efforts in opposition to the introduction of military instruction.<sup>3</sup> In September 1978 "socialist military education" was to be introduced as a required course in the 9th and 10th years of school. Months in advance, this plan evoked a wave of questions and petitions to the state agencies concerned. The churches were asked for support in order to dissuade the party and state leadership from introducing the new course of instruction. But the church protest was without result.

Since then the GDR has expanded the measures to heighten defense readiness. In individual cases, however, pupils that had refused participation in the military training and gotten into difficulties on that account have been spared through intervention of church agencies. From fear of later career disadvantages,

<sup>2</sup>Mechtenberg, "Die Friedensverantwortung der Evangelischen Kirchen in der DDR" (The Responsibility of the Protestant Churches in the GDR for Peace), in Henkys (edit.), "Die Evangelischen Kirchen in der DDR" (The Protestant Churches in the GDR), Munich, 1982, p 357.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. Eisenfeld, "Kriegsdienstverweigerung in der DDR--ein Friedensdienst?" (Refusal of Military Service in the GDR--a Service to Peace?), Frankfurt am Main, 1978; and Ehring/Dallwitz, "Schwerter zu Pflugscharen--Friedensbewegung in der DDR" (Swords into Plowshares--Peace Movement in the GDR), Hamburg, 1982; and Büscher/Wensierski/Wolschner, "Friedensbewegung in der DDR--Texte 1978-82" (Peace Movement in the GDR--Texts, 1978-1982), Hattingen, 1982.

however, only a vanishingly small number of pupils refused participation. As a result of this relatively violent and public discussion between state and church, a greater sensitization was seen toward the further defense training efforts of the GDR, which have continued to the present. Among these are that the military instruction has been extended to the 11th year and that premilitary training of apprentices has been made obligatory. More intensive recruiting methods have been used for voluntary commitment to "honorary service in the National People's Army," and in general an atmosphere has spread that suggests that it is necessary to prepare immediately for an armed conflict.

For the churches the protest against the introduction of military training was not a self-chosen peace activity, but rather a reaction to measures taken by the state. The dispute, however, also aroused the need of a peace effort conceived as a long-term one (slogan "Education for Peace").<sup>4</sup> Peace circles were established in the church.

The military element plays an ever greater part in the GDR: defense sports camps during the school holidays, rifle-firing instruction during the semester break required of all students (including students of theology), recruiting for longer army service--often bordering on compulsion in the case of 15-year-olds, etc. Examples could be multiplied frighteningly. The individual cannot resist these demands of the state. Whether he will or not, he is confronted with this or that demand. He must then avow his principles, and often enough an opposition then arises. Many, to be sure, submit--at least outwardly--to the demands and take part. They are in the majority, so that the numbers of the pacifists should not be overestimated. The number of conscripts refusing armed service has fluctuated in recent years between 350 and 700 per class. In 1982 it is said to have been over 1,000.

If we look for the cause of the development of the peace movement in the GDR, we must seek it first of all in the internal political development of recent years. It is less a reaction to the example of Western peace movements than a "homemade" phenomenon. The feeling of being more or less locked in along the seam between the systems (the border with Poland, too, has become largely impermeable) may also have contributed. Events publicized by the SED media also had a certain signal character, such as the Bonn demonstration of the 300,000 and the Protestant lay conference in Hamburg in 1981.

Around the end of 1979 and the beginning of 1980 the world political situation became considerably more tense. NATO adopted its "double decision," the Soviet Union intervened in Afghanistan over Christmas, the United States threatened economic sanctions, the Olympic Games in Moscow were boycotted by several Western countries, and a planned meeting between Schmidt and Honecker was canceled. The possibility of a war between the superpowers with Europe as the theater of war came to dominate the media almost daily.

In the fall of 1980 the GDR stiffened its domestic and foreign policy in reaction to the changes that had been going on since the summer in the neighboring country of Poland. The exchange minimum for visitors from the West was raised, the working possibilities for Western correspondents narrowed. The GDR

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<sup>4</sup>Büscher/Wensierski/Wolschner, *op. cit.* (Footnote 3), pp 45-96.

repeatedly banned reporting on church synods at which the theme of peace was discussed. Protestant church papers that had printed official church utterances on the work for peace had to be pulped and reprinted with censored text. In the state media the population was prepared for an intervention in Poland. In confidential conversations with leading clergymen, representatives of the state reacted to church criticism with violent accusations that they were about to create a situation similar to that in Poland.

From 9 to 19 November 1980 a "peace decade" was to take place in the Protestant parishes for the first time. Its slogan was to be "Establish peace without arms." The working papers said: "It would be a good thing if people voiced their opinions." This could be done toward the church and the state. Thus a letter to the Volkskammer [the unicameral legislature of the GDR] somewhat along this line would be conceivable: We are grateful for all disarmament efforts and request additional ones, "with as significant decisions as possible in our own country, too," e.g., by a ban on the production of war toys.

From then on, the peace theme became a regular subject of church discussion. In March 1980 in East Berlin German-German church consultations began for the first time in a long time between the GDR church organization and the EKD [Evangelical Church of Germany (FRG)]. This actually took place with the official approval of the SED.<sup>5</sup> A year later, on 9 November 1981, "prayer services for peace" took place simultaneously in the Federal Republic and the GDR, in which several tens of thousands of people participated. On that foundation new church peace initiatives sprang up everywhere.

Those who joined them did not necessarily come from church backgrounds. The peace clubs of the church attracted both more radical forces, who have more far-reaching criticism of the society, and people who participate with constructive criticism in state organizations or groups close to the SED. The spectrum is sometimes quite broad. Thus far there is no question--for the church work for peace as a whole--of the uniformity that the concept "movement" suggests.

So-called peace seminars have had especially large attendance. The participants meet in church spaces, usually for a week end or several days, to work together on a subject such as "Language of Peace," "Non-Violent Demonstrations," or "Alternative Security Systems." Among the oldest and best known is the peace seminar in Königswalde, Saxony. About 400 to 500 interested persons assemble there every year in the spring and fall--almost more than can be accommodated.

## II. "Social Peace Service"

Another decisive point in the history of the development of this movement was the initiative for introduction of a "social peace service" (SoFd). 9 May 1981, three employees of the established church of Saxony composed an appeal<sup>6</sup> which was quickly distributed throughout the GDR, and by that fall about 5,000 more signers were asking the established Protestant church for support. There were letters with individual signatures and letters with collective signatures that

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<sup>5</sup>Cf. Henkys (edit.), *op. cit.*, pp 186 *et seq.*

<sup>6</sup>Büscher/Wensierski/Wolschner, *op. cit.*, pp 169 *et seq.*



were collected independently and privately all over the GDR, not all of them concerned with the theme of "social peace service" alone. The church leaderships made representations to the state, but the state repeatedly expressed its uncompromising "no" to the demand for a "social peace service."

The overall situation in the GDR was obviously the deciding factor that caused all of the synods to express themselves positively toward the initiative. The church was not concerned here merely with the individual's possibility of refusing for conscientious reasons to bear arms; that had existed since the middle of the 1960's--within the army in the so-called construction units. It was more a matter of making clear, at least by example, that peace today can no longer be based on military strength and deterrence. That found its clearest expression in the provincial Saxon church, which met in Halle. A special resolution was adopted there explicitly opposing the concept of military guarantees of peace. The synod proposed that the states of the Warsaw Pact, too, thus including the GDR, take steps in advance in order to further the process of disarmament. This could be done, for example, by reducing the numbers of SS-20's and reducing the Warsaw Pact's numerical superiority in tanks.

Klaus Gysi, the GDR secretary of state for church matters, discussed the "SoFd" theme in answer to students' questions after a lecture delivered to theology students of Humboldt University, in East Berlin. As grounds for the state's rejection of that proposal he mentioned:

- The statal and constitutional principle of defense readiness and obligation.
- The obligations under the Warsaw Pact to provide specific contingents, which must be carried out.
- The circumstance that military strength is the greatest contribution to ensuring peace.

Furthermore, the concept "social peace service" would suggest that service under arms in the National People's Army (NVA) was "antisocial war service," whereas the overwhelming majority of young Christians served under arms in the NVA. These people, according to Gysi, "cannot be defamed." And he added unmistakably: "Anyone who does not accept this clear position of the state's shows that what he wants is confrontation."<sup>7</sup>

In spite of the state's rejection, the efforts on behalf of a "social peace service" were one impulse, if not *the* most important impulse for the further development of the peace discussion. In the GDR church league an intensified discussion was stimulated, that reflecting the pacifistic position on which the initiative was based.

### III. Swords Into Plowshares...

At the end of 1981 and beginning of 1982 the SED was reacting much more nervously toward the fact that in the peace discussion a cleft had opened up between the state and a part of the population which posed serious problems for the

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<sup>7</sup>*Loc. cit.*, p 258.

integration capacity of the political system. The emerging "disintegration process in matters of peace"<sup>8</sup> became most evident after the peace decade in November 1981. A textile print that was legal in the GDR and was manufactured by the church, the appliqué "Swords Into Plowshares," was worn by tens of thousands in the whole of the GDR. Young people discovered the phrase from the Old Testament, which was complemented with the drawing of a piece of statuary that the Soviet Union had presented to the United Nations. They sewed it on their parkas and jeans, used it as a bookmark in their textbooks, or stuck it on their mopeds.

But as it came into more and more widespread use, it irritated the guardians of law and order, and there were the most varied encroachments and reprisals against individuals. In Rostock and Halle, in Dresden and East Berlin pupils were compelled by their teachers to remove the labels from their clothing. Youths were seized on the public streets and taken away to police headquarters. A group of young Christians who had gone to Halle for a church affair were not allowed to leave the railroad platform until the labels were removed. Automobile windows were pasted over when the sign showed through from the inside; if it was on the outside the driver found it cleanly scraped off; the same was the case with house and apartment doors.

An East Berlin youth had to pay a fine of 150 marks. The charge: "On 30 March you committed an offense against the public order in that by wearing a symbolic representation with a pacifistic inscription in public you showed gross disrespect for the defense needs of the population of the GDR and thus disturbed the socialist society. For that reason a fine of 150.00 marks is assessed against you. Cause: By this action you injured the morale of the citizens of the socialist state and imposed an undue burden upon the citizens."<sup>9</sup>

The counteroffensive "Peace must be defended--peace must be armed," proclaimed at the Third Session of the Central Committee of the SED in late November 1981 and posted on billboards in the spring of 1982 boomeranged; the opposition of the young to the state peace policy was not reduced. Even though members of the SED explained that they agreed "in principle" with a Utopia of a world without weapons and constantly affirmed the GDR's desire for peace, fewer and fewer people could reconcile this with the heightened militarization.

The East Berlin Bishop Gottfried Forck, who still displays the emblem on a brief case, complained in a message to the parishes<sup>10</sup> that in the state actions no clear information about the legal basis was given. In a conversation with GDR Secretary of State Klaus Gysi that took place on 7 April the representatives of the church league, among them Bishop Krusche, pointed out that the church was not in a position to explain the state attitude to the young; serious consequences for the personal development of the young were to be feared from the behavior of the state agencies. It was expressly pointed out to the state representatives that an intensification of the conflict would be to nobody's advantage.

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<sup>8</sup> Mechtenberg, *op. cit.* (Footnote 2), p 389.

<sup>9</sup> The order imposing the fine is in the files of the Berlin Study Group for Church Journalism.

<sup>10</sup> On 14 April 1982 for the Easter services.

#### IV. The Dresden Peace Forum

But the state remains on a confrontation course. The devastating domestic political consequences seem to bother it very little. In many youths defiance and resignation are mingled with total loss of confidence--in state and church. On 13 February 1982, the anniversary of the destruction of Dresden, 5,000 visitors went to the Dresden Church of the Holy Cross to discuss with the church's representatives, quite publicly, questions of peace by which they were moved. Such an event was without precedent in the GDR. But by then it had become clear that "the integrative power of the church, too, in the issue of peace is only limited and the church cannot share responsibility for initiatives that lie beyond those limits."<sup>11</sup> Youths streamed off the trains all day long, clearly recognizable by the markings on parkas and jackets. Others had homemade headbands with the inscription "Frieden schaffen ohne Waffen" [Make peace without arms]. It was made public here for the first time that there is a new movement, albeit a small one compared to the peace movement in the West. The meeting in the Dresden Church of the Holy Cross, which came about at the urging of grassroots activists in the widely differing peace initiatives, was supported officially by the church. For that reason it was spared conflicts with state security organs, which would not have allowed an independent meeting of the youths.

The actual Peace Forum began after the annual memorial service. Questions were handed up in writing to the podium, where church representatives were sitting, including Hempel, bishop of the province; Domsch, chairman of the church council; Bredtschneider, youth pastor; and Garstecki, specialist on peace questions with the Evangelical Church League. All the questions that are discussed in peace circles were brought up. For example:

Shall one take part in military training in school or not? Should there not be a "peace education" course in school? Is there really no chance for a social peace service? What does the church think of Pastor Eppelmann's "Berlin Appeal"? Should one not sign such a thing? Why is it youths can go to school in, e.g., Zittau with the appliqué "Swords Into Plowshares" on their clothes, while in other places this slogan is not tolerated? It was often hard for the church representatives to answer. Since the state does not engage in discussion of such questions itself, they repeatedly had to explain its "no," too, and explain its arguments against the youths' wishes. When they had to ask the youths to be restrained in their activities, they reaped definite expressions of displeasure.

With all their involvement in peace matters, the Protestant churches did not want to put themselves at the head of an independent GDR peace movement, as demanded by Robert Havemann, critic of the régime, now deceased, or such writers as Stefan Heym. The church itself carries on its own work for peace, which, to be sure, corresponds to non-ecclesiastical initiatives, including those of the state. It tends to play the part of an intermediary between the state and critically involved youth. It attempts *vis-à-vis* the state to evoke understanding of the earnestness of the young people's desire for peace and *vis-à-vis* the activist grassroots to evoke understanding of what is politically attainable under the existing conditions.

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<sup>11</sup> Mechtenberg, *loc. cit.* (Footnote 2), p 392.

In this mediator's rôle the church quickly gets out of sight of both sides into the twilight. Accusations of opportunism on one side and opposition party on the other alternate. The church leaderships must endure this. Their policy is walking a thin line; there is relatively little play. The 8 million members differ widely in politics--the utterances of church leaders must take that into account. Their expectations are often greater because they overlook this simple fact.

In this situation it is not always easy when individual voices are raised. Numerous peace papers have been produced recently to clarify the authors' own understanding; people have gotten together everywhere on their own initiative and discussed what they could do. Individuals have composed open letters. A group surrounding the East Berlin pastor Rainer Eppelmann became known worldwide through the so-called "Berlin Appeal--Make peace without arms."<sup>12</sup> (Eppelmann is also the organizer of the "blues masses," which draw about 7,000 youths several times a year.) The demands contained in this appeal for an atomic-weapon-free zone in Europe and for withdrawal of the occupying troops from Germany could not be subscribed to by many church peace activists. The East Berlin church authorities took exception to both the form and the content of the "Berlin Appeal," for which a signature campaign had begun. In an open letter addressed by Eppelmann to Erich Honecker there are, in addition to these political demands that are themselves rather hard to agree upon, a whole series of "confidence-building measures" that have also repeatedly been a stumbling block in church peace circles. They are concerned with such matters as:

- Distribution of war toys in the GDR,
- Glorification of the soldier's life in school instruction,
- Stopping organized visits of kindergarten groups and school classes to barracks,
- Abolition of military training and premilitary training,
- Dispensing with grandiose celebrations and presentations of military materiel at public festivals,
- Dispensing with any military demonstrations on state holidays,
- No more discrimination against any who express pacifist convictions, etc.

Eppelmann's letter to Honecker remained unanswered. The state agencies reacted very quickly to the "Berlin Appeal": A few hours after the Politbureau met and Western newspapers published the text of the appeal, state security officers arrested several signers of the appeal. Rainer Eppelmann was questioned for 2 days, but then--like all the others involved--released; the preliminary inquiry was dropped.

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<sup>12</sup> Büscher/Wensierski/Wolschner, *op.cit.* (Footnote 3), p 242.

## VI. Peace and Ecology

In the new peace movement, however, only a very few think in terms of world policy or even Germany policy. The concern that leads to the activity results rather from direct personal experiences. On closer inspection it becomes clear that it is not only peace that moves the participants. Even at the first Dresden Peace Forum the question of an alternative life style was raised. There must be a connection between peace movement and ecology involvement, it was said, for what good would it be if external peace were maintained and everything destroyed internally? Ecology consciousness and alternative life style, therefore, include the peace involvement and vice versa.

For that reason many who were in Dresden in February 1982 also took part several months later in church ecology demonstrations that have been a tradition for some years in a number of cities in the GDR, such as Leipzig, Dresden, Schwerin, Rostock, Neustrelitz, and East Berlin. In each case several hundred people meet over the week end. Trees are planted, for example--sometimes with the support of the local "VEB Stadtgrün" [People's Enterprise City Green],--and in the evening there are information and discussion groups which deal with life style, alternative agriculture, nuclear power plants, or other environmental problems, for hardly anything is published about these matters in the GDR media, and the participants want to compensate for this shortage of information.

At the peace seminar in Königswalde, too, the connection between commitment to peace and commitment to the ecology was discussed repeatedly.<sup>13</sup> The demonstration "Mobile Without Auto" took place for the third time on 4-5 June 1983 in dozens of cities in the GDR. Independent bicycle demonstrations with hundreds of participants were also held in East Berlin, Leipzig, and elsewhere.

Although, as always, only minorities are involved, these new forms of thinking that is critical of civilization within the socialistic GDR society are of great significance.

"Human labor," a Wittenberg environmental group writes, "must, in the GDR as elsewhere, no longer be primarily directed toward the further accumulation and accelerated consumption of material goods, but must be directed more than in the past to intellectual and cultural activity, social commitment, and a way of life marked by solidarity." Social wealth must therefore be defined today as material and intellectual-cultural wealth, as the sum of what leads to enrichment of the forces of human existence. And this does not consist in having the greatest possible amount of material goods at our disposal. For Karl Marx the merely economic wealth was replaced by the rich man, who at the same time is "the man who requires a totality of the expression of human life," for whom the other person represents the greatest wealth."<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Cf. "Kirche im Sozialismus" (Church in Socialism), Materialdienst zu Entwicklungen in der DDR (Materials Service on Developments in the GDR), West Berlin, 1983, No. 1-2.

<sup>14</sup> Wensierski/Büscher, "Beton ist Beton--Zivilisationskritik aus der DDR" (Concrete is Concrete--Criticism of Civilization from the GDR), Hattingen, 1981; in that work, "Kein Sonnenschein ohn' Unterlass--Naturzestörung in der DDR und ein Handlungskatalog" (No Sunshine Without Interruption--Destruction of Nature in the GDR and a Catalog of Actions), pp 51 *et seq.*

Such a reorientation of the understanding of social wealth requires a corresponding change in social and individual objectives, it goes on to say. These changes could lead to a fundamental change in production in the ecological sense. They include a bit of renunciation; simultaneously, human beings would state their new qualified claims.

Even in the GDR there is such a thing as a second culture among the young. Some tens of thousands of young people, in East Berlin, Dresden, Leipzig, and other big cities, live in a sort of internal emigration with a life style that corresponds in many ways more or less to the western youth scene. There is a similar generation gap. For many, the Occidental and Prussian-German values that have prevailed in the past have lost their luster. The life ambitions of more and more of the rising generation are no longer material prosperity, the accumulation of goods promising satisfaction and happiness from the closet wall to the arbor. A look at the recent literature, the latest GDR films, or the youth scene of the big metropolises, which was started by punks and embraces all kinds of dissidents, shows that this is already a social movement to be taken seriously. Thus far, however, there has been no dialog between the state and this part of its youth.

#### VII. Germany Policy Aspects

For the SED, independence of the churches in the Federal Republic is among the most important prerequisites for recognition of an independent work for peace on the part of the GDR Church League. The founding of the independent GDR Church League and simultaneous separation from the EKD [Evangelical Church of Germany] was a prerequisite to the détente between state and church in the 1970's. The SED's church policy has always been linked to its Germany Policy. The internal political relaxation toward the church in the 1970's took place against the background of the policy of détente introduced in the late 1960's. Quite recently, especially in the spring of 1980--after the issuance of a joint declaration of the EKD and the GDR Church League and the start of joint consultations on peace questions--the cooperation across the boundary between the two Germanies was welcomed by the SED, as long as such cooperation corresponded to its policy and took place on the plane of "independently" acting partners. At the time of a special low point in the international situation (Afghanistan) the churches actually assumed something like a special Germany-policy rôle--acting to create awareness in the population and as go-betweeners in communications between Bonn and East Berlin.

The extent to which such activities can be taken care of by the church depends, no doubt, on the content. If the criticism is directed against Western measures (the NATO double decision), it is encouraged; if it is cautiously directed against, for example, the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, there is censorship of the church press (as in the fall of 1980).

The activity across the internal German boundary depends primarily on the overall political situation. Thus in the fall of 1980 the tensions in Poland had repercussions on the SED's Germany policy and hence also its church policy. Thus particularly narrow and sensitive bounds are set to church efforts here.

Documents issued jointly by the Protestant churches of the Federal Republic and the GDR have a certain rarity value. Merely for that reason they draw public attention even when their content is not particularly exciting. Such a

document is the report published in August 1982 on the work of the German-German Consultation Group on Peace Questions, which was set up by the two churches in 1980. Out of consideration for the EKD, there is nothing in the joint work report of the consultation group about what it had already been possible to get a general consensus on in the GDR churches; e.g., demands for unilateral steps toward disarmament, renunciation of the deterrence system. "We have not clarified between us the conclusions to be drawn from the unheard-of paradox: the defense will in all probability destroy everything that was supposed to be defended. We are jointly convinced that this life-threatening aporia must be overcome." <sup>15</sup>

The many positions agreeing--at least in principle--between the two big German churches are reassuring. The passage concerning the boundary between NATO and the Warsaw Pact may be regarded as one of the core pronouncements of the report. It runs: "No goal or value can justify the launching of a war today. Averting war is a prerequisite to the realization of human rights, of freedom and justice. The church has the duty to point out that a war does not protect freedom and justice and with them the conditions for a decent human life, but destroys them--possibly irretrievably." <sup>16</sup>

The churches thus declare--and this is directed especially toward the responsible politicians in the two German states: the defense of democracy by war will put an end to democracy, just as the defense of socialism by war means the end of socialism.

Thus the report contains, at least indirectly, a rejection of deterrence as an instrument for ensuring peace.

#### VIII. From Emotional Concern to Dialog

A few months ago the latest synod of the GDR Church League drew up a balance sheet of the developments of recent years. In it the leadership of the league attempted to describe the various feelings and movements in the matter of peace and to weigh them against each other. There was clearly an effort to remain in dialog with all dissidents in the GDR. Among the results of the synod was that more tolerance was expected of the state for the conscientious decisions of youthful pacifists, and also an alleviation of the lot of those who decide on service without arms. "Construction soldiers" should be employed in such a way that their service is given a more positive content as an expression of social responsibility and peace preparedness; e.g., in environmental protection, disaster protection, and aid to the handicapped. A further problem, according to the document, must finally be solved: it has to do with those reservists who have once served with the National People's Army (NVA) but now resolve on service without arms. These conscientious objectors, of whom there were ca. 100 in 1982--some were severely punished by military courts, while others thought better of it once again--according to present practice, since a subsequent refusal of armed service is not legally possible, are condemned to punishments that are greatly disproportionate to the scheduled term of service as reservists. In the church's view they should at least be given the chance to do their reservist

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<sup>15</sup> The text is found verbatim in the EPD [Protestant Press Agency] documentation, 1982, No. 38, pp 1 *et seq.*

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*

duty in the "construction soldier" line. As in the past, this is still a point of conflict.

Directed toward the politicians, especially in the two German states, the church leadership's report contains quite a number of proposals that could be worked toward as perfectly attainable intermediate goals and in consequence of renunciation of the spirit of the deterrence system. It is expressly emphasized that a renunciation of the system of deterrence should not be equated to a renunciation of future defense readiness. It is therefore necessary, according to the report, to see through the deterrence thinking as an abuse of the right of defense that belongs to every country. The GDR churches would never have questioned, but always recognized, the justified security interests of their state and other states. It is not at all the intention to impair that right, when the realization has now come that the spirit of the deterrence system can only be rejected. In the politically concretely realizable measures that the GDR church leaderships have in view, three complexes are involved:

"1. Exchange of information between possible enemies, who in fact are partners in security, should be so expanded that each is in a position to appraise correctly the other's intentions and plans. Secrecy measures should be limited to the same extent that is also indispensable for peaceful competition.

"2. Confidence-building measures could probably be more effectively developed if it were specifically asked at every step what might cause anxieties on the other side and how such anxieties could be reduced. In military development the main weight of the effort should be shifted to the development of types of weapon whose defensive character is recognizable. It would thus be possible to take account of the perceptive categorical imperative for disarmament: 'Arm yourself in such a way that the other side can imitate it exactly without your feeling threatened!'

"3. It seems urgent that arms build-up measures be dispensed with that have as their goal the possibility of surprise actions and that cut down the warning time. The existing weapons that can be used for aggressive purposes should be dispersed. The formation of regional atomic-weapon-free zones--for example, in Europe--should be an urgent aim of concrete political negotiations. The establishment of recognizably defensive security systems belongs on the international agenda, as well as the concept of limited unilateral steps toward disarmament. It is necessary to demonstrate not the credibility of deterrence, but that of the capacity for peace."<sup>17</sup>

Precisely the last point makes it clear how far-reaching the consequences of renunciation of the spirit of the deterrence system actually are. Among the arms measures that are to be renounced because they have surprise actions as their purpose and they reduce the warning time are both NATO's and the Warsaw Pact's missiles.

After the conflicts about the appliqués the leaderships of the Protestant churches made it clear that what they wanted was not fruitless confrontation but discussion. A sign of the church's readiness was renouncing the further

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<sup>17</sup> EPD-DOKUMENTATION, 1982, No. 47, p 9.



manufacture of the appliqué. At the grassroots this policy of the church leaderships was carried out by the majority. The state side also came a little way to meet the church: It granted the printing permit for placards, book-marks, and leaflets. These recruiting materials for church peace services, meditations, celebrations, and parish evening meetings again bore the symbol with the man beating a sword into a plowshare. In the fall of 1982, just before the Luther Year [celebrating the 500th anniversary of Luther's birth], the state and the party quite obviously wanted to get out of the confrontation into which they had maneuvered themselves with the conflicts about the peace badge.

Compared to the previous year the participation in the Peace Decade of 1982, which was on the theme "Anxiety—Trust—Peace," was definitely greater. The programs of the parishes were simply endless. In Magdeburg, e.g., the theme was "Reconciliation vs. Prejudices—Germans and Poles—Thoughts on a Neighborhood." There was a Crystal Night commemoration held jointly with the small Jewish community, and also legal counseling on military training, civil defense, military service, and premilitary instruction. At a peace workshop peaceful modes of behavior in conflict situations were acted out. In many places Bible study groups and prayers for peace were also well attended. In a silent march in Halle over 1,300 persons walked from seven churches to the Market Church in the center of the city. Remarkable numbers of Catholic Christians could be encountered at such affairs.

A new subject of discussion: the GDR military service law decreed in the spring of 1982 also provided the possibility of calling women into the army. That was to be done only in case of war, but many citizens were greatly disturbed about it. Some women had called attention to this problem at the East Berlin peace workshop in June 1982. At their information booth they had put a steel helmet on a female show-window dummy. Several hundred even wrote letters to Erich Honecker on this question.<sup>18</sup> So far there have been no reprisals worth mentioning.

#### IX. When the Dynamic Between State, Church, and Youth Is Blocked...

When the state is not accommodating, the situation for those concerned becomes more serious. The latest development in Jena is an example. The conflict that has been smoldering since the summer of 1982, which first ended surprisingly positively with the release of all young people that had been jailed, showed the consequences of the loss of confidence between the concerned grassroots and the leadership of the church in an especially tense situation. But again at the peace demonstrations of 13 February 1983 in Dresden, indignation arose, and stronger than the year before: "Why does the church leadership make so many compromises with the state?" they wanted to know. And "The church, just like the state, often makes unintelligible policy." Exasperated women said: "If criticism is not possible within the church, we must express it outside of the church." When the discussion was declared ended, there were shouts of: "Soon it will be the same here as with the state!"<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> Documented in SPIEGEL and TAGESZEITUNG on 6 December 1982.

<sup>19</sup> There is a GDR Church League press release dated 4 February 1983 concerning this meeting, which took place 28-31 January in Potsdam-Hermannswerder on the subject "Future of Peace."

It can be seen from the events in Dresden or Jena how deep the disappointment of committed young people is when they say today that the church does not fulfill their expectations. In recent years it has had an influx of many persons who are often less interested in the Christian faith than in Christian-humanistic values, and who are now urging it to be more decidedly a "church for others." This church is balancing on a narrow edge: On the one side the state expects of it loyal behavior and appeasement of restless spirits, and on the other side the young are importunate. In the long run the church can maintain this balance only if the state shows itself willing to compromise at least now and then. At present that applies primarily to the peace debate. But the GDR leadership's latest initiatives are more inclined to cause shaking of heads even in church circles. Instead of a flexible policy toward the new bearers of the responsibility for peace that have shown up even in the GDR in recent years, all too often the conventional hard course is followed; there are antiquated recourses to political forms of the 1950's and 1960's. All church considerations must seem senseless to the critical youths. The more consistently the state ignores their petitions, the more impossible it will become in the long run for the church to perform its rôle of mediator between the two. Jena makes it clear what happens when all dynamics between state, church, and youth is blocked.

#### X. The New Policy of Détente: From Above and From Below

The developments of recent years in the GDR show a new quality: This movement is no passing phenomenon, but has become a political factor that the SED must learn to live with. It cannot be dealt with, as the individual opponents have been in the past, by the device of deprivation of civil rights, although that still hits individuals, as do imprisonments, expulsions, exiles, and dismissals. Essentially the conflicts are ignited at one point: It is a matter of recognition of the right to an independent peace impulse that comes from beneath, from the population, not from the state.

The state peace policy needs to be supplemented by independent disarmament and peace impulses. Indeed, the state efforts will be under no necessity at all of producing results unless autonomous movements ("non-governmental groups") exist that are not part of state calculations. The détente policy of the 1980's must come from beneath. The peace movements in the West need no official discussion partners that in terminology, thinking, and possibilities of action are caught in the system of deterrence, which is accepted by the rulers in East and West alike.

Détente policy from below means that new groupings with new peace ideas can communicate with each other, in East Europe and West Europe, across the boundaries.

The values to which homage is paid in East Germany and West Germany alike no longer have their attraction, especially to the youth of a given time. Identification with the political and economic systems has slackened, without the other's being seen as an alternative. To a loss of values in national, collective, and personal identity are added shortcomings in the personal and emotional realm which have led to an increase in similar social problems in the Federal Republic and the GDR. Large parts of the youth of both German states are withdrawing from their society.

The lasting existence of such social movements is something completely new in German postwar history, but not only in Germany. In the Western and Eastern industrial civilizations alternative movements started by the young are growing stronger, which can no longer be (or do not wish to be) fitted into the old East-West and capitalism-socialism opposition.

These movements influence each other. They destroy old enemy-images, and so contribute more to the relaxation of tensions than to a continuation of the status quo with more or fewer weapons by the competing governments, which simply must persist in the system opposition in order to be able to continue to justify their own positions. On both sides of the wall they are confronted with the same political and economic problems, which justify neither of the systems in defending itself, if necessary with atomic weapons, as the "better." Only the existence of similar alternative movements in East and West makes a new form of détente policy possible. There is thus a point of reference for people on both sides of the wall, who can thus emancipate themselves from object to subject of the détente policy. The nightmare of the opposition of systems--which is becoming more and more anachronistic today, and especially with a view to the end of our millenium--could collapse and thus open the way to real détente.

Existence and coexistence with the other states must be credibly affirmed by those concerned. Political and economic stability of the states is also among the prerequisites. This need by no means signify a halt to necessary social developments: indeed, it makes them possible. Destabilization would have catastrophic consequences; that is also the view of the participants in the consultation of all church peace experts of the GDR, held recently in Potsdam.<sup>20</sup> There was discussion there of the idea of a European security partnership ("one side is as secure as the other") that Erich Honecker also brought up in his New Year's speech and repeated in his address at the opening of the spring fair in Leipzig.

Détente policy must not be limited to confidence-building measures in the military domain, confidential conversations of the heads of government behind closed doors, official contacts of semistatal organizations in the realm of culture and sport, and economic agreements--all of which doubtless have their uses. But today there are so many forces in East and West that want to start talking with each other that a new peace dialog is possible that goes beyond the policy of détente from above, which has run into a blind alley. This is the essential new dimension of détente policy, which with the development of new movements must also be included in every political calculation.

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<sup>20</sup> NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 31 December 1982 and 14 March 1983.

#### West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 54, 12 Apr 83 p 1

[Report from Berlin: "'Anti-Socialist Elements'--SED Polemics Against Independent Peace Groups in the GDR." A translation of the East Berlin NEUER WEG article cited below follows this commentary.]

[Text] The SED has now threatened the independent peace groups in the GDR and characterized the young people critically involved there as "antisocialist elements." "The real goal pursued against the socialist states by antisocialist enements under the camouflage of an independent peace movement provided by imperialist mass media," according the periodical NEUER WEG (No 7, 1983) published by the Central Committee of the SED, is the creation of tensions and social changes. "The 'independent peace movement' in the socialist countries desired by imperialist circles really has not the least thing to do" with the interests of the worldwide peace movement and with the tasks of peace, it goes on. Socialism is "obligated to the cause of peace inherent in its nature to give a rebuff" to such attempts to make use of the idea of peace for counter-revolutionary purposes. The peace forces in the West may be sure "that in this respect as well, socialism will always meet its responsibility."

#### GDR Analyst's Attack

East Berlin NEUER WEG in German Vol 38 No 7, 1983 (signed to press 24 Mar 83)  
pp 284-286

['Response to Topical Questions' feature article by Prof Dr Georg Grasnick, Institute for International Politics and Economics (IPW): "Why Does Imperialism Fear and How Does It Fight the Peace Movement? Peace Movement Is Gaining Strength on a Worldwide Scale--Imperialism Intensifies Splitting Attempts--Peace Struggle: A State Doctrine in Socialism"]

[Text] The worldwide peace movement is preparing itself for new heights in the fight against the insane course of confrontation and arms build-up pursued by the forces of imperialism, especially the United States. Under the tense international conditions the workers of the GDR, too, are making greater efforts for the all-round strengthening of socialism, and thus making a still more effective contribution to ensuring peace.

In the world of today the forces of peace have great weight; to quote from the theses for the Karl Marx Year, "a peace movement of historic new dimensions has arisen." Today "The working class" is fighting "to maintain peace together with all classes and strata, together with all forces to which peace is dear and which actively stand up for it."<sup>1</sup> The peace movement unites in the most important question of our day, the question of war or peace, the most widely differing social and political forces and also ideological points of view.

#### The Peace Movement Has Won Many New Adherents

The imperialists see to their horror that all their attempts thus far to weaken or split the peace movement have failed. Such inept attempts included, e.g., representing the peace movement in the NATO countries as "the long hand of Moscow," or "a subsidiary of the Kremlin." Such characterizations are still to be heard today. They were unable to weaken the peace movement by that. On the contrary, the peace and arms-limitation initiatives of the Soviet Union and the states of the Warsaw Pact are evoking a louder and louder echo in the West.

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<sup>1</sup>"Thesen des ZK der SED zum Karl-Marx-Jahr 1983" (Theses of the Central Committee of the SED for the Karl Marx Year 1983), Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 1982, pp 27-28.

The imperialist war party and its mass media have accused the peace movement in West Europe of "anti-Americanism." Nowadays hardly a day goes by that the "other America," peace-loving America, does not speak out, ridicule the adventurous policy of the Reagan administration, and demand a nuclear freeze, rigorous reduction of the expenditures for arms, and a constructive attitude at the Geneva negotiations with the USSR.

The most aggressive forces of imperialism and their media have calumniated the peace movement as a "fear movement," as the movement of "irrationalism" and of "atomic pacifism." In spite of this confrontation the peace movement in West Europe has won new adherents. More and more people are seeing an extreme expression of irrationalism in the criminal intention of NATO to start in 1983 with the stationing of new American medium-range missiles in the FRG and in other countries and thus to pile the already accumulated mountains of mass-destruction weapons still higher.

The reactionary imperialist forces' fear of the peace movement is revealed in the outcry of U.S. General Rogers, the supreme commander of NATO, who observed "disturbing developments opposed to the main goals of NATO." An American paper concretizes this concern of the confrontation politicians as a fear "that they may lose the fight for public opinion." A newspaper that is to be ascribed to the military-industrial complex of the FRG wails about "the great gap that exists between the motives of the rearmament decree and the public's understanding of it."

In other words it must thus be conceded that an abysmal, unbridgeable cleft exists between the pains and goals of the U.S. administration for a "limited" or a total nuclear war and the fundamental interests of mankind, and that for that reason imperialism fears the peace movement.

The most aggressive forces of imperialism reinforce their attacks on the peace movement most of all by means of a comprehensive peace demagoguery. They would like to seize upon and misuse the idea of peace. Politicians of the U.S. administration and of NATO fairly boil over in many speeches with "love of peace." R. Reagan, who only a short time ago was coolly offering reflections on "the radiation of Europe" and characterizing the advocates of peace as "paid agents of Moscow," now suddenly feels "sympathy with heart and soul for the people who speak of the horrors of nuclear warfare."

The supreme commander of NATO and its secretary general outdo themselves in assurances that this aggressive military pact represents the "greatest peace movement there has ever been." Psychological warfare experts in the FRG attempt to show that the Bundeswehr, which is being tuned up to restore the German state with the 1937 boundaries of Hitler's Reich, is the "strongest force for peace."

The truth about the "greatest peace movement" that the most aggressive forces of imperialism have to offer appears, however, to be that NATO expressly holds fast to the "possibility of a nuclear first strike," as its supreme commander, General Rogers, expresses it. This truth also indicates that for years NATO has evaded the proposal of the Warsaw Pact states to enter into an agreement on mutual renunciation of the use of military power--nuclear or conventional--either with defamations or with transparent subterfuges.

The reality, moreover, is that the FRG expressly intends to maintain the regular increase in annual arms expenditures corresponding to the NATO long-term program. The FRG's defense appropriation shows twice the rate of increase of the other appropriations in the Bonn budget.

Nor can the fact be swept under the rug that the Swedish government's proposal to establish an atomic-weapon-free zone in Central Europe, which the GDR supports, has been officially rejected. And that in spite of the fact that the FRG is more heavily armed with nuclear weapons than any other country in the world. For today there are already over 6,000 atomic weapons and enormous arsenals of chemical weapons stored in that country.

Lastly, the reality further reveals itself in the fact that top FRG politicians are well known to take and to have taken the position with respect to the fateful NATO missile resolution of "first arm and then disarm," which is a thinly veiled version of the illusory concept of achieving military superiority of the West, in order to be able to conduct a policy of strength, in other words of extortion.

NATO wants to tackle the peace movement with a "battle for the minds and hearts of men." The possible atomic death is to be presented to the international public in a minor key. The "clumsy propaganda" of the U.S. administration and of NATO last year and the year before proved "ineffective," the American radio station RIAS in West Berlin admitted. The doctrines of "limited nuclear war," of "atomic demonstration strikes over the Baltic or the Arctic Sea," of "nuclear decapitation," of "long-lasting nuclear war" and "the possibility of winning it" are still said to be valid, but are not so shockingly advertised in the foreground. "Milder tones" are now "popular." "The Reagan administration has learned to lower its voice," an American newspaper commented.

So that the imperialistic war party's peace demagoguery and hypocritical assurances of peace can have an effect, new staff organizations have been created by the imperialists to operate the gigantic apparatus of mass manipulation. The U.S. government has formed a committee at the cabinet level under the direction of W. Clark, the security adviser, which is to "make recommendations for the propagandistic neutralization" of the freeze movement in the United States and--according to UPI [United Press International]--to do "advertising" for the administration's arms build-up policy and eliminate "misunderstandings in Europe." In addition, a new campaign of Washington's has been set up by Reagan under the designation "open diplomacy," in order, as it is said, "to counteract the Soviet peace offensive and to improve the European understanding for the peace policy of the United States."

The psychological warfare must thus resort to unambiguously mendacious methods in order at least partially to counter the strength of the peace movement. It must pay tribute to the strength of that movement. For the same reason the finesses used by the imperialistic adventurers must become still subtler if they are to make the West Europeans into "suicides."

After the failures of past defamation campaigns against the peace movement, imperialism wishes still to attain its old goal in a different way: the peace movement is to be split. The most aggressive imperialistic circles are relying for that on the differing social, political, and ideological points of view of

the forces working in the peace movement. They want to play them off against each other, and, as Comrade Kurt Hager said at the Fifth Session of the Central Committee of the SED, "are more than ever engaged--partly with the aid of dissidents--in creating confusion in the peace movement and bringing about a split."<sup>2</sup> In that effort an "old" and a "new" peace movement are to be organized and the one movement set against the other.

### Socialism and Peace--Inseparably Bound Together

Thus imperialistic propaganda is also attempting, for example, to transfer the knowledge and experience of the peace advocates in the NATO countries schematically to the socialist states. The word "independence" is consciously manipulated. A so-called "independent peace movement" in the socialist bloc is invented.

In the NATO countries, as is well known, peace demands must be formulated and put through against the governments. In the socialist countries, however, the aims of the foreign policy and the peace efforts of the governments coincide with the peace interests of the peoples, with the peace commitment of the citizens.

"If peace is the doctrine and policy of the state, as it is here, then that also explains why the citizens feel closely united with this their state and its policy,"<sup>3</sup> said Comrade Erich Honecker. Then who will or should be "independent" of what? "Independent" of the agreement to the Swedish government's arguments for an atomic-weapon-free zone on both sides of the boundary line between Warsaw Pact and NATO? Or "independent" of the goal of and work toward an atomic-weapon-free Europe,-- a Europe of peace, security, and mutually advantageous cooperation? "Independent" of the willingness to enter into an agreement renouncing the use of military force between the Warsaw Pact and NATO?

The true goal that antisocialistic elements are pursuing against the socialist states under the camouflage of an "independent peace movement" provided by the imperialistic mass media has been made known by the U.S. administration, specifically by L. Eagleburger, under-secretary of state, namely to create "tensions" in the socialist countries out of which it would be possible to "develop change." Secretary of State G. Schultz formulated this still more clearly: It was a matter of making the socialist countries "ripe for counterrevolution."

The "independent peace movement" in the socialist countries desired by the imperialist circles thus really has nothing at all to do with the interests of the peace movement, with the peace tasks of our day. "The revolutionary labor movement is fighting against a split in the peace movement and decidedly turning its back on all attempts to misuse the idea of peace for counterrevolutionary purposes against socialism,"<sup>4</sup> it is stated in the theses for the Karl Marx Year 1983.

Socialism is obligated to the cause of peace inherent in its nature to give a

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<sup>2</sup>NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 27-28 November 1982.

<sup>3</sup>Erich Honecker's interview for LAND OG FOLK (Norwegian: Land and People), NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 4 May 1982.

<sup>4</sup>"Thesen des ZK der SED zum Karl-Marx-Jahr 1983" (Theses of the Central Committee of the SED for the Karl Marx Year 1983), Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 1982, p 29.

rebuff to such attempts. The forces of peace in the imperialist countries may be sure that in this respect as well, socialism will always meet its responsibility. For the forces of peace in these countries it is necessary not to allow themselves to be confused by the imperialist misuse of the idea of peace.

The forces of peace are stronger than the imperialist war party. They can effectively bring it to an end.

8815

CSO: 2300/238



IDEOLOGICAL INDOCTRINATION NEEDED IN PREMILITARY TRAINING

East Berlin JUNGE GENERATION in German Vol 36 No 3, Mar 83 (signed to press 10 Feb 83) pp 44-45

/"FDJ (Free German Youth) and Socialist Military Education" feature article by Berndt Richter, editorial secretary, JUNGE GENERATION: "To Inculcate Clarity: FDJ Aktiv in Premilitary Career Training of GST (Society for Sport and Technology)"/

/Text/ FDJ aktivs ensure the political influence of the FDJ collective on those involved in training. They help to explain the meaning and political purpose of thorough and conscientious preparation for military service and thus have a motivating and mobilizing effect, inculcating clarity, awareness and initiative. They stand alongside the GST trainers, particularly the agitation/propaganda deputies, and act in concert with them, for it is a matter of good and excellent performance in training. The will and the readiness to perform are decisive for the manner in which tasks are fulfilled. The high level of the specified training programs makes it clear how essential it is to demand optimal performance.

To begin with, an aktiv member will answer for himself the question of the object of politico-ideological influence in career training: it's a matter of having a clear position on the military class mission and on the function of the socialist armed forces as a factor in securing peace and of having a class-conscious attitude toward training in the GST. Here it is not enough simply to "rehash" the material from civics lessons, for example, or to leaf spontaneously through newspapers here or there; rather one must devote oneself early on systematically and purposefully to questions of the party's military policy in order to understand better the military contexts of world events and issues and to strengthen basic convictions. Necessary for this understanding are loyalty to the party of the working class and to the workers and peasants state; the strengthening of friendship with the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community; the further sharpening of the hatred of imperialism; and the recognition of NATO intentions, which endanger peace. We thus help to make it clear why one later bears arms as a soldier in the NVA (National People's Army) and what the very purpose of being a soldier in socialism is. With the conviction that strong socialist armed forces as organs of the working class' power are the best protection against all imperialist intrigues, all the young people in the

GST are preparing themselves to fulfill the class mission set by the 10th SED Party Congress as soldiers in the near future alongside our brothers-in-arms.

At the Seventh GST Congress it was stressed that the training in its entirety is the decisive sphere for the GST in which the military consciousness marked by socialist ideology develops. That means that every training session is to be ideologically motivated. Before each training session and throughout training, the aktiv conducts the political discussion on topical issues, on assigned duties and on order and discipline. Of course this presupposes the intellectual penetration of the material to be imparted and the ideological preparation of each training assignment. So it's not a matter of waiting for this or that instance of lack of discipline and then explaining the significance of military discipline, but rather of arguing for discipline and the role of order in the socialist armed forces, using the example of drill training. These explanations can be varied; they depend on the level of awareness of the individual or of the collective. In a given case it may be necessary to have fundamental discussions of the correlation between discipline and freedom in socialism. In another, one explains the reasons why today more than ever the thinking soldier who can obey orders with a good deal of initiative is needed. The concern of the aktiv in the training is for conscious (in the truest sense of the word) interaction of discipline and comradeship; it orients all participants toward fulfilling the training tasks and sees to it that each individual can derive his concrete share from the focal points of the training and be actively involved at the same time; it explains the conditions for achieving top honors and makes sure that each training session is effectively used and that a high level of performance is attained in the interest of a high degree of military competence.

The FDJ aktiv is also concerned with generalizing and broadly applying the experiences of the best training collectives and with jointly working with the training leaders for the observance of training programs and norms. This requires that a FDJ aktiv work in close cooperation with the trainers, for example, after every training day when it assesses results, special initiatives and activities and determines steps which advance conduct of FDJ work throughout the training. In general, all measures are jointly prepared, implemented and evaluated with the trainers. In many places it is useful for the FDJ aktivs to be guided by the detachment's deputy for agitation/propaganda and be directed in the training process in accordance with the command sections of the FDJ base organizations.

During camp training, after taxing sessions, it is entirely proper to find eventful forms of leisure activity for the participants. This pertains not just to conversations and public discussions with party functionaries, veterans of the working class or members of the armed organs, although, in addition to an intellectual counterbalance, these also contribute to the further inculcation of military themes. FDJ aktivs see to it that wall newspapers or display cases on topical issues and training results, on initiatives and participants' duties and on the orientation for upcoming training are set up. Also, campfires, group singing, athletic contests, film nights, excursions to nearby sites of the working class' revolutionary struggle or museum visit and the like belong here.

The more a FDJ aktiv knows how to make reference to the questions, to the interests, and to the knowledge of its friends, to stimulate interests and enrich cultural forms, for example, with educationally effective subject matter at camp and the more it is in a position to do discriminating political work with each friend, the greater is the operational and combat readiness of all those involved in premilitary career training.

"The most important force that makes every workers and peasants state invincible, even when on the defensive, is the will of the working population and of its youth to achieve and their readiness to fight for the military protection of socialism and the preservation of peace with a total personal commitment. The development of the socialist military consciousness of the future arms bearers is thus the primary, the most urgent and the most important problem in socialist military education and in the work of the party, the FDJ and also the GST in this area of our national defense." All FDJ aktivs involved in premilitary career training should let themselves be guided by these thoughts of the Minister of National Defense, Army General Heinz Hoffmann, as expressed at the 7th GST Congress.

12235

CSO: 2300/234

MEMBERSHIP OF ENTREPRENEURS IN TRADE UNIONS QUESTIONED

Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 22 May 83 p 3

[Text] "Where does your husband buy his trade-union dues stamp?"

The young woman is at first surprised by the question, and then answers with embarrassment: "He does not buy it anywhere. I buy it for him at my place of employment, so that he will not lose his trade-union membership."

"This is not exactly regular," notes the secretary. "Tell him to come and see us so that we can straighten out his membership."

Similar incidents are frequent at 4 Semmelweis Street, the building that houses the Budapest private employees' local of the Trade Union of Local Industry and Municipal Economy Workers. Trade-union members who are paying their dues illegally are found out when they want their vacation voucher stamped or apply for assistance.

Secretary Jenő Varga comments: "It seems that few people are aware they can be trade-union members also legally. Through KIOSZ (National Federation of Artisans), the local councils and the professional press, we are striving to inform the employees of private artisans how they can maintain or continue their trade-union membership. An estimated 20,000 persons are employed nationwide by artisans at present. According to the trend in recent years, their number can be expected to increase. It is primarily in the interest of these employees not to become separated from organized labor."

Jenő Varga is obliged to explain this interest fairly often these days. He is not at a loss for an answer when in the course of this he encounters the usual question: "And what can the trade union offer me?"

"I always point out in advance that the question of give and take is not the main issue. It is a matter of principle that a person must belong somewhere where he can participate in public life, where his interests are protected, his living and working conditions are monitored, where he can get advice and support in case of disputes. Once this matter of principle has been decided, then comes the rest: legal protection, discount fares, from time to time a vacation voucher, and aid. The financial background for aid is still partially undecided, but there is a solution for it. In spite of this, there is hardly any problem with which the members have not come to us so far."

In practice, however, matters are more complicated than at a plant. The trade-union members are scattered, practically every member works at a different place, and their working hours vary considerably. Also for this reason, the work of the shop stewards is more difficult than at a large plant. It is understandable that people are hesitant when first asked to become shop stewards and must be persuaded to help in organizing the workers.

But it would be a mistake to abandon them because at one time they all were organized workers. One of them was a chief shop steward at his previous place of employment. Of course, he is maintaining his membership in the trade union. And it is likewise natural that he is one of the first shop stewards in the private sector. There is every reason to believe that others will follow his example.

1014

CSO: 2500/263

PRINTERS UNION, JOURNALISTS ASSOCIATION JOINT MEETING

Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 21 May 83 p 5

[HUNGARIAN TELEGRAPH AGENCY report]

[Text] In spite of the gains made by the electronic media, demand for the printed media can be expected to increase in the coming decades. On Friday, at the joint session of the presidiums of the Printing and Paper Industry and Press Workers Trade Union and of the National Association of Hungarian Journalists, the present situation in newspaper publishing and the coming developmental tasks were discussed.

Kalman Lakner, counsellor of the Ministry of Industry, reported at the session that 9.0 billion forints have been spent on development in the course of the printing industry's reconstruction. New plants have been built that employ modern printing technology. The value of the printing industry's output has nearly doubled in 10 years. Book, newspaper and magazine runs have risen sharply, while employment in the printing industry has declined significantly. In the course of the printing industry's reconstruction, however, development of the preparatory and finishing operations in printing has lagged behind the desirable rate. This is causing bottlenecks in the production of publications, and is hampering efforts to shorten the printing time. The presidium pointed out that the situation could be improved through production cooperation among the printing plants, but development of the areas that had been omitted from reconstruction would have to continue in any case. The program for converting the dailies to offset technology has not been fulfilled entirely. Especially urgent is the modernization of the production of two national dailies, MAGYAR HIRLAP and MAGYAR NEMZET. The wider introduction of photo typesetting belongs among the tasks of the Sixth Five-Year Plan. Reconstruction of the Photo Typesetting Center has been completed, but replacement of lead type with this modern technology is warranted at other printing plants as well. An urgent task is to introduce the domestic production of the presensitized plates necessary for offset technology, because at present the procurements of such plates is placing a heavy import burden on the printing industry. Annually the printing industry is using 84,000 tons of paper for publications. A significant proportion of this paper is likewise imported. Many effective measures have already been adopted to reduce paper consumption, but economization unalterably remains an important task.

Ferenc Simon, deputy chairman of the Information Office attached to the Council of Ministers, described the situation in newspaper publishing. A total of 1714

publications are appearing in Hungary. Circulation of the dailies, especially in the megyes, is increasing year by year. A survey is nearing completion that will tell us to what extent the composition of the newspapers is in accord with the needs of society, and whether there are unnecessary duplications in the specialization of the individual publications.

On the basis of the results of this survey, a decision will be made as to whether our present structure of newspaper publishing will have to be modified.

The joint session defined the most important areas of cooperation between the two organizations, and cooperation agreement was signed, with special emphasis on aiding the political and professional work of journalists, defending their interests and improving their working conditions.

1014

CSO: 2500/263

KISZ YOUNG INTELLECTUALS COUNCIL MEETS

Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 22 May 83 p 3

[Text] The fifth national conference of the KISZ Central Committee's Council of Young Intellectuals ended in Siofok, on Saturday. At the three-day conference, the members of the council and of its nine working committees were briefed on the timely problems of our social and economic system, and on the effect that the international situation is having on the socialist societies' development. Gyorgy Aczel, a member of the MSZMP Politbureau and a secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee, attended the national conference and, in a question and answer session, answered questions raised by young intellectuals.

Gyorgy Fejti, first secretary of the KISZ Central Committee, spoke of the problems in conjunction with the rising generation's adjustment to politics and public life, and of the youth federation's timely tasks. Bela Csikos-Nagy, chairman of the National Materiel and Price Office, Kalman Kulcsar, deputy secretary general of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, and Miklos Pulai, deputy chairman on the National Planning Office, briefed the conferees on the economic reform's further development.

1014

CSO: 2500/263



PRON NATIONAL ACCORD ACTIVITIES

National Accord, Acquiescence Compared

Opole TRYBUNA OPOLSKA in Polish 11 Mar 83 pp 1,2

[Article by (maks): "Accord Does Not Mean Yessing" under the rubric "PRON Activities"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface in the original source]

[Text] /Discussion of activities of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON] is growing. It is increasingly broader as the first congress of that organization approaches, which as known will be held on 7-9 May in Warsaw. The congress will be preceded by gmina [parish], city and province PRON conferences./

The preparations for such a conference in Opole were discussed at a meeting of the Presidium of the Provisional City Council [TRM] of the PRON that was attended by representatives of the party, the allied political parties and youth and public organizations.

The chairman of the TRM, Dr Karol Wilsz, reminisced about the stages of development of this public movement for national accord. Currently the PRON is characterized as a bridge linking the daily life of citizens to the functioning of the authorities.

In Opole operate seven problem-solving groups that also handle public initiatives and interventions, services, youth life, legal consultation and contacts with the mass media. The individual groups include experts representing various occupations and professions.

PRON activists take part in the work of the City People's Council, in community meetings and meetings with plant workforces. The material from these meetings facilitates building a program of action and complementing it with proposals and suggestions made during the meetings. At Wednesday's session of the TRM PRON this program was discussed on chiefly stressing the elements to which attention is drawn in the proposals for pre-congress discussion published by the Provisional National Council [TRK] of the PRON.

For example, Roman Troszczynski, first secretary of the PZPR city committee in Opole, declared that the program of action of the city party organization meshes with the assumptions of the PRON and this fact imposes on PZPR members a special obligation to initiate projects and directly participate in their implementation.

Jan Krakowiak, representing the United Peasant Party [ZSL], reminded those present that only discussions and meetings with people can clarify doubts. And such discussions should be initiated.

Franciszek Adamiec, also a ZSL representative, stressed the need to encourage people to be sincere in voicing their doubts, especially as relating to the text of the PRON's Declaration. In meetings with the public the emphasis should be on specifics, because general formulations and goals do not appeal to everyone.

Jan Szygula, who took the floor in behalf of the Democratic Party [SD], discussed, among other things, bringing the text of the Declaration and the statutory principles of the PRON closer to youth. It is necessary to undertake discussions among students of secondary and higher school communities. Deeds rather than declarations are more important in winning over those who have adopted a waiting attitude, and an impetus for activism is needed. Such an impetus has been competently provided by, e.g. the citizens' committees for national salvation [OKON].

All talk and discussion should be conducted in a climate of well-conceived partnership. Unanimity cannot be feigned. Views may, and sometimes should, differ, and what should unite them is understanding the meaning and purpose of activities of the PRON. The PRON's strength lies in arguments which may not be well received by the authorities but which at the same time demonstrate the validity of the position taken. Accord does not mean yessing.

During a discussion of more than 2 hours, certain proposals were refined, among which especially noteworthy are those pointing to the need to organize TRM PRON meetings with the participation of representatives of the party and allied political parties as well as public and youth organizations in labor plants and various communities.

The problem-solving groups operating under the TRM PRON should establish contact with similar groups operating under the Municipal People's Council, at housing cooperatives and in organizations of war veterans, educators and youth.

/Daily contacts between the PRON and society also provide an important factor in the preparations for the City Elections Conference which will be held in Opole on 24 March./

V National Accord, Important Direction

Bialystok GAZETA WSPOLCZESNA in Polish 12-13 Mar 83 pp 1,4

[Article by Helena Pilipiuk-Vankova: "For a National Accord"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface in the original source]

[Text] /Society at present is divided and readily susceptible to upsets, so we began to try to make the officialdom handle people less rigorously and with more understanding"--Stanislaw Samitowski, master of the planer and the chisel, speaks in the slow drawl of his landmen from the Podole Borderlands./

One cannot afford to get readily upset when carving lovely shapes of carafes, vases and goblets from logs of tarry pine. Samitowski exhibited his best masterpieces at a show honoring the recent 550th anniversary of Biala Piska, because,

although he himself is a Podolian by birth, he has a heart for the Mazovians. He feels strongly linked to his postwar place of residence. He has made a jewel box out of his little apartment on Mickiewicz Street, so that it is pleasant to sit in it surrounded by fragrances of pine and mint. He combines in himself an attractive mix of earthiness and worldliness. Before the now 67 years old Samitowski (an uncle of the Samitowski from Warsaw Television) had settled down at the edge of the Piska Wildlife Forest, he had engaged in long wartime wanderings.

We spoke on 1 March [1983], exactly on the 40th anniversary of the formation of the Union of Polish Patriots, with which Stanislaw Samitowski is linked by extremely personal experiences. The famous [writer] Wanda Wasilewska was the woman whom he had obeyed and saluted. After a stay in Siberia he reached a recruiting station in Chelyabinsk beyond the Urals and thence proceeded to Selets on the Oka, to join the Polish Division. He became a headquarters guard and had daily contact with the chiefs of the Polish Army on Soviet soil. Bearing a cap decorated with the Polish eagle he journeyed as far as Berlin. He was shot at and wounded more than once but somehow survived. His health had sufficed to fight the gangs in the Bieszczady.

"Iron will not withstand what a man will"--with these words Samitowski concluded his wartime reminiscences. We ceased to hark back to wartime years, whose recollection was fortuitous. After all, we were speaking of current affairs, of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth, which non-party member Samitowski was the first to begin translating into reality. Even before the PRON was established, he had formed a Citizens' Committee for National Salvation [OKON] in Biala Piska. The first meeting was attended by 12 persons--eight older people and four young people, and they settled on aid to the elderly as the most urgent direction of action--the elderly in the city and gmina.

For example, in Drygaly an 82 years old woman was driven by her son and his wife out of their home. Could a fairly large house lack room for an old woman? The gmina OKON discussed ways of helping the old woman. The chief asked the son to come for a talk. Without applying administrative sanctions, in a personal meeting it was settled that the old woman would receive a room of her own on the second floor.

As chairman of the City-Gmina PRON Council, Samitowski is on duty Tuesdays and Fridays, in the morning on one day and in the afternoon on the other, so as to enable applicants to pick the time most convenient for them. But receiving applicants and listening to their complaints is not Samitowski's sole occupation.

Although he has been pensioned off, he works on part-time basis as foreman in the woodworking plant whose employee he has been for many years. He feels himself to be a good skilled worker and wants to keep working in his field so long as his strength lasts. What is more, he has established a trade union in his company. Since the plant in Biala Piska is a small department of the Suwalki LAS Woodworking Enterprise, the trade union organized by Samitowski has members all over the province. At a recent election meetings trade unionists resolved to entrust leadership to the carpenter from Biala Piska. Thus, Samitowski spends two days each week in Elk, which houses the province seat of the LAS Enterprise. There, on Wednesdays and Fridays he attends to union affairs.

He could use an eighth day of the week because time is so tight. Now in March it is a real headache, because elections have started in PRON elements at villages

and labor establishments. One has to be present at meetings everywhere, but the question is how to get there. The Gmina-City Office lacks a car, and so does the party committee, and as for labor establishments, they started to conserve gasoline. How then one can reach the already existing PRON elements in Kumielsk, Nitki, Donow, Lodygow and Gruzy? What is more, this list of place-names may grow longer because people are beginning to notice that the new creation bearing the acronym PRON is effectively pulling out various "plugs."

In Biala Piska--as in many similar towns--no new housing has been built for years and, since maternity wards are never vacant, the number of new citizens is growing. Where are they to live? So finally a housing cooperative was founded on the initiative of the PRON. In Biala Piska 200 people had joined at once. Some of those previously registered in the Pisz cooperative who reside in Biala plan to transfer to the newly founded cooperative in their town. They figure that the new cooperative will build housing more rapidly than the one in Pisz. As known, a drowning man catches at a straw. Who will guarantee, however, that Biala will solve the housing problem more rapidly? Will the energy of the local public activists break through the construction barriers? There are many such questions. Only one thing is certain, properly speaking a good, meaning amicable cooperation of all--official and social--elements of the authorities.

Samitowski assures: "The PRON causes no discord and tries to alleviate ancient conflicts."

I want to believe him. The new Movement has after all succeeded in recruiting as many as 270 members in Biala Piska Gmina. Its elements operate in many villages and labor establishments. There is public support, because the PRON tackles the most difficult problems. For example, instruction in the local elementary school is done in three shifts, and thus the school building has to be expanded, but the 10 million zlotys allocated by the province governor is not enough. So, PRON activists want to appeal to public generosity. Biala Piska also badly needs a sewage treatment plant and even more urgently an Artesian well, because not a drop more can be extracted from the current pre-war well. Youth needs a place for entertainment, so the construction of a house of culture was begun. The gmina's villages could use reading rooms or clubhouses, because only culture can draw them away from taverns. In Samitowski's opinion, rural clubs of culture should be formed wherever school buildings stand vacant. None of these various matters can be settled by the PRON on its own. Besides, the Movement does not try to supplant the administration, but it can point to problems and explain what is important and most important.

The chairman of the gmina PRON explains his mediatory motto: "Nothing will be done if every organization wants to act on its own. A united direction of action has to be jointly chosen. We should unite our forces instead of scattering them. We adopted the principle that the validity of the grievances reported will be examined jointly by representatives of the PRON and the people's council. Nothing should be imposed from the top. After all, it is the persons directly concerned in a particular matter who can best tell how to solve it. If we do not listen to public opinion, we will return to old mistakes. But we are concerned with rescuing the country from the crisis. In my woodworking plant I observe a great desire for work. Output is being overfulfilled, which means that our people desires to pull up the country by our own bootstraps."

Stanislaw Samitowski refutes my doubts: "What was won by struggle cannot be forfeited." He complains about the weakness of present-day patriotic education. He himself conceived his greatest love for the Fatherland while at home, in the family. Nowadays parents pursue their own interests and do not attend too much to upbringing their children. "My encounters with school youth produce on me the impression that it can be made interested not only in discotheques. The young listen willingly if one talks to them sincerely about one's own experience. Young people who are active in the PRON are committed and have caught properly the bacillus of civic spirit. They like to act on their own, so let them do that. Older people could just advise and help them."

Does not Samitowski see any obstacles? Will he find a compromise solution for everything? He has indeed a great deal of good faith and willingness for civic work, but he also is aware of the dangers. According to him, it is unnecessary to elect rayon PRON officers. He asks, "Why create new levels of hierarchy?" and answers the question himself: "This makes people suspicious that desks for a new bureaucracy will be prepared under the plaque of the PRON. We have too much of the old bureaucracy anyway. Its burden complicates our emerging from the crisis." Samitowski would shut down unnecessary offices. In his opinion, it is the banks that should be the principal controller of the economy. This is done in the wealthiest countries. He asks, almost helplessly: "Why then are bankrupts in Poland helped to a safe shore?" It is time to abandon the absurd concept of "planned losses" when profits are urgently needed.

#### Discussions by Representatives

Bialystok GAZETA WSPOLCZESNA in Polish 19-20 Mr 83 pp 1,4

[Text of roundtable discussion at GAZETA WSPOLCZESNA; "Room for All: On the Idea of the Accord"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface in the original source]

[Text] /For a long time now articles on the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth have been published in our GAZETA. The idea of this Movement and society's ideas on how it should operate were commented upon by, among others, Dr Edward Grygo last Friday in the article "More to Link Us." The newly forming elements of the PRON are causing discussion in various circles of our society. Of particular interest to the public is the draft of the ideological-program declaration and statute./

✓ /The need for the Movement's existence is demonstrated by the growing numbers of new participants. So far some half a million citizens representing political parties and public and religious organizations--in a word, all communities in our country--have joined elements of the PRON. What prompted them to create and join in this Movement? What were and are they doing? What is the PRON, properly speaking? What is the place of the Citizens' Committees for National Rebirth [OKON] in the PRON?/

/These issues are discussed daily. For province congresses of the PRON and its National Congress are approaching and comments and suggestions are being made on the draft declaration and statute. In our editorial discussion of the PRON the following took part: Czeslaw Adamski, chairman of the OKON in the Skorupy City-Quarter of Bialystok; Krystyna Czarnecka, chairperson of the Suwalki City

Board of the Union of Polish Socialist Youth [ZSMP] and member of the youth element of the PRON; Eugeniusz Czykwin, railroader, chairman of the Province Branch of the Christian Social Association in Bialystok; member of the Presidium of the Provisional Province Council [TRW] of the PRON; Grzegorz Flejter, director of the Department of Propaganda and Agitation under the Lomza Province PZPR Committee, secretary of the TRW PRON; Edward Grygo, faculty member at the Bialystok Polytechnic, member of the program commission of the TRW PRON; Jozef Lawin, department director of the Province Committee of the Democratic Party [SD] in Suwalki, member of the organizational commission of the Provisional Province Coordination Council [TWRK] of the PRON; Mikolaj Miruc, farmer from Bondary Village, Michalow Gmina, chairman of the inter-vention commission of the Gmina PRON Council; Gertruda Orlacz, director of the State Children's Home No 1 in Bialystok, member of the Province Committee of the United Peasant Party [ZSL], participant in the PRON. The editors were represented in the discussion by Aniela Labanow and Helena Pilipiuk-Vankowa./

Cz. Adamski: Why did I find myself in the national rebirth movement? As a serviceman, I devoted my youth to fighting for the Fatherland. Witnessing the threat to it and the schism among citizens, I pondered ways of approaching people and trying to reconcile them, relieving this tension. We could not make any promises. Thus we tried to demonstrate that in such a difficult period something concrete could be accomplished. We began by acting within our housing project, Skorupy. This dilapidated Bialystok city-quarter is inhabited by many elderly and lonely people. The teachers, who had together with us established the OKON there, interested students in their fate. We had thus our first accomplishment and encouragement for further struggle. We undertook to bring order into stores and restaurants. We finally coped with the drunkards' bar--now it is a place for lunching or dining.

M. Miruc: My road to the PRON was similar. I joined, because I felt that the Fatherland is in danger. In my youth I had belonged to the Union of Polish Youth [ZMP] and helped rebuild the country. I know well how many sacrifices it had cost. I and other inhabitants of our gmina decided to try to master the situation, although we see no reason to dramatize it. Youth must be shown the truth about our past. History textbooks teach us everything about the Saxon kings but nothing about the formation of the authorities. I myself had walked barefoot to the ZMP congress in Bialystok. At the time the poverty was truly great. Youth should know about this. Young people also have joined in the work of our gmina PRON council. Mutual dialogue promotes mutual understanding.

G. Orlacz: Society is divided not into generations, into the young and the old, but simply into activists and the uncommitted. I have been active in the youth and popular movements. I have never been indifferent to the problems of others. My current profession also requires organizational work in behalf of children, in behalf of bringing up good citizens.

E. Czykwin: A major feature of the Bialystok branch of the Christian Social Association is conducting ecumenical work in our denominationally heterogeneous region. I as the branch's chairman am expected to show no bias and respect the rationales and views of various people, which is so strongly stressed in the PRON's assumptions. This Movement affords broad possibilities for presenting varied views. I believe that the work ethic proper to the Protestant churches and the Russian Orthodox church particularly deserves attention in such difficult

times in our country. Moreover, in my opinion, the PRON is a suitable forum for presenting the cultural accomplishments of the national minorities, which are so numerous in our region.

E. Grygo: The question about the reasons for joining is not adequate in the case of the PRON, which was conceived at the top on the basis of declarations by six signatories. Of course, I support the idea of a national accord. I understand that this is a necessity and there is no other alternative. That is why I was gratified to accept the proposal to join in the work of the Provisional Province Council of the PRON that had been established last August in Bialystok. I regard socialism as a natural continuation of our revolutionary traditions. We adhere to this ideal despite the deformations that took place in the past. As a participant in preparations for the province PRON congress I am witnessing an exceptionally cordial response from those as well who until recently still had represented nearly extremist views. This may signify that the idea of the PRON is beginning to be tolerable even to the cultural communities which are in opposition, and with which I have most frequent contact. This small detail imbues with optimism.

Cz. Adamski: This concerns the statement by the speaker just before me that the rebirth movement began with a declaration of six signatories as a movement created at the top. But actually we began to act much earlier, at the grassroots level. The movement originated from spontaneously arising committees. We had not even known at the time how to call it: a movement for salvation or for rebirth?

J. Lawin: These committees had arisen when the risk was total and the future could not be foreseen.

Cz. Adamski: If it is said that the movement originated at the top, people will again begin to think that some idea is being imposed on them.

Editors: The problem is in principle only a seeming one. The grassroots initiative of the OKON combined with the formulation at the top of the idea and structures of the PRON.

Cz. Adamski: Theory should meet practice. What is theory's worth without practice? That is like an engineer with a diploma who lacks experience.

G. Flejter: We view the same matter from different standpoints. Meshing of theory with practice is needed among persons active in the same movement out of similar motives.

E. Grygo: To me, work with the grassroots, among people, differs from work at the province-element level or at the PRON's national council.

Cz. Adamski: Only work with the grassroots can produce effects at the top.

G. Flejter: No OKON can act on its own alone. There are problems affecting the entire province or country. The OKON will not tackle them. Thus I see a need for structures above the OKON level--some province or national councils. Of course, such councils should not deprive the grassroots elements of their independence but they should help them coordinate their work. There is a need for ties among the OKONs within the framework of the PRON. Our Lomza PRON Council consists of representatives of all the OKONs existing in the province. As a result, they participated in everything that was done.

Editors: Let us talk about the main aims of the PRON.

J. Lawin: We have been marking time too long in discussing the movement's functioning instead of its motivation and sources. I am a proponent of moral rebirth. Few people consider this deeply, and if they do at all, they perceive only such phenomena as drunkenness and hooliganism. Yet our history shows that, whenever the nation was in danger, its more enlightened sons strived for its moral rebirth. This had happened in the pre-Partition period and in later periods as well--there are instances of this. I believe that the draft declaration has not adequately reflected this aspect. It discusses restoring the health and functions of the state but not the nation. The issue of moral renewal has been reduced to debating clubs, whereas we need a romantic idea inspiring to organic work, a deeper idea. But we are concerned with facts and occurrences and forget and overlook the sources. Unless it becomes a genuine moral force, the PRON will remain a public movement striving to attract discrete groups, e.g. youth, temporarily, on a "hurrah" basis: 'Come to us and we will give you candy and loans because we wish to do something for the country.'

G. Orlacz: The very name, "movement for rebirth," indicates that its main goal is the rebirth of the nation, which also includes moral rebirth.

E. Grygo: The draft declaration cannot be considered in isolation from other PRON documents, because they are closely linked. Much is said about moral rebirth in the declaration of PRON signatories of 20 July 1982. But the strong emphasis on this aspect in the documents does not at all signify abandonment of practical activity. The main wisdom of the movement in the sphere of ideas consists in addressing two sides simultaneously: the authorities and the citizenry, because it is harder to swim upstream. But swimming upstream is necessary, even if this does not meet with applause from the authorities.

M. Miruc: The army helped to control the situation, but Jaruzelski will not bring order by himself for us. In the gmina there must be somebody who will tell the authorities the naked truth, who can even swim upstream. We elected a nine-member intervention commission which has the duty of attending to all painful matters. Farmers bring their grievances in person or by placing letters in a complaints' box. We as the PRON do not replace the authorities, but we point out incorrect decisions to the gmina chief and demand their rectification. I wish to state that in our gmina people regard PRON activists as defenders of social justice and reflectors of public opinion. It is a pity that not all problems can be solved within the gmina itself. For example, our inhabitants point to the waste and chaos in the construction of the water impounding reservoir in Siemianowka. The enterprise's management is housed in Bialystok, but we can reach it there too. In my opinion, there are not matters that cannot be resolved. Consider the example of vacant school buildings. The director does not permit utilizing them for cultural purposes because he has no directive to this effect from the minister. But I expect the matter to be soon resolved successfully....

Editors: Will not the PRON thus become yet another office for complaints and suggestions?

M. Miruc: In 3 months we received only two suggestions.

E. Grygo: This is the answer to the question of whether the PRON might not be replacing the officialdom. No, it does not replace it, but through "organized"



public opinion it influences all the structures appointed to exercise particular functions.

G. Flejter: I would say that this means the authorities. Whoever can make decisions and pressure the authorities into making them, has influence on the authorities. This is the meaning of democracy. Before the OKONs began to exist, the individual had been alone. He spoke of the authorities--of "them," because he had no possibility, no chance of deciding on anything. Now he says: I, we. In his local OKON he can attend to anything or if the OKON is not to his liking, he can establish another one. When the division into "them" and "us" disappears, one can no longer exculpate himself by pointing to his exclusion from co-responsibility.

Editors: Is not this too ideal a vision? Practice has already shown that the mantle of the PRON is being used for personal gains, e.g. a garage building committee has been set up, and some people are expecting to get cushy jobs.

Cz. Adamski: I do not consider this a big danger. That is what we are for: to prevent deformations.

Editors: There are complaints that youth is not joining the PRON. Why?

K. Czarnecka: Let me speak in behalf of my peers. I believe that we should know more about the machinery of management of the economy and the functioning of the authorities. Youth is unfamiliar with these matters. This issue has emerged during our meeting with representatives of Suwalki authorities. I resolved that the PRON will be a good way of acquainting young people with that machinery. On 18 February [1983] we established a youth branch. We had been 15 at first and now we are twice as many. Youth from the Polish Scouts Union [ZHP] joined us. We also want to win over young people who do not belong to any organization.

Editors: How?

K. Czarnecka: Our first problem is the house of culture. In the ZSMP we lacked sufficient clout. Now we have a better chance. Greater effectiveness is tangible. What are our difficulties? One big problem which we have not been able to "crunch" is alcoholism among students. The teachers themselves provide them with a bad example. We are attempting to make at least one coffeehouse in Suwalki alcohol-free and tobacco-free, but the SPOLEM Consumer Cooperatives' Union will not assent to it. But I think that our initiative will succeed. We do not closet ourselves within our own group but invite others. We had an interesting meeting with a PRON activist, Kazimierz Tomczyk.

G. Orlacz: The young people with whom we are dealing at the PRON represent only the committed part of youth, those belonging to various organizations. But we at the PRON are concerned with reaching also the young people who stand aside and are offended at the entire world. How can this be done?

E. Czykwin: One should not talk down to youth.

K. Czarnecka: It should be treated as a partner.

E. Grygo: Organizationally.

Cz. Adamski: Let it accept responsibility. Let us not act in behalf of it.

E. Grygo: We complain about youth but we are not attempting to reach it with concrete deeds. Let us not count on its spontaneous, automatic participation. This is not and will not be so.

Cz. Adamski: The PRON's authorities are not fully cognizant of what is happening at the grassroots level. That youth which causes so many complaints among its elders is desirous of civic work, provided that--as our young female discussant has declared--a hand is stretched toward it and it be told where to begin.

K. Czarnecka: I wish to rebel. Youth is a continual topic of discussion at plenary debates, sessions, conferences, meetings. This is typically theoretical discussion of youth but in the absence of young participants. I have the impression that there is still too much of this theory, and it is meeting with rebellion. Deeds, not words, are needed these days.

G. Flejter: Without youth the Movement has no future. It must find its own niche in the Movement. How? We will not solve this problem during our present discussion, but it is good that the question has been asked.

Editors: The participation of the Front of National Unity [FJN] in our Movement is highly controversial.

Cz. Adamski: What should be our attitude toward the Front of National Unity? We cannot reject it. The FJN also has scored accomplishments of its own. In the initial period it had played a good role, but afterward it has become fossilized. Thus it was necessary to establish something better and more effective.

G. Flejter: The FJN included active people who had wanted to accomplish something concrete. They attended to building schools, roads, bridges. We should not preclude their participation in our Movement, because we wish to attend not only to big politics but also to concrete work. But there cannot be any mechanical linkage of the FJN with the PRON.

K. Czarnecka: The FJN has stumbled, but should we ignore it completely? Perhaps, too, our ranks include inappropriate individuals who will be negatively judged in the future? Entire organizations cannot be condemned. Let us respect people who have accomplished something and who have sincere intentions. The point is that our Movement should be joined by many active individuals, through whom we would gain additional civic-minded adherents to the Movement. A highly important issue, in my opinion, is teaching people courage in pointing the finger at evil.

G. Orłacz: When I listen to the chorus of wholesale condemnation of the FJN, I am shocked. I had worked so many years for the Front. There were many of us who, regardless of the signboard, devotedly worked for the good of all. We wish to continue being active.

Cz. Adamski: My diploma dates back to Bierut's time....

G. Orłacz: The PRON should be a mass movement and at the same time a movement of tolerance that respects the convictions and feelings of all participants.

J. Lawin: This is necessary. I see that misunderstandings arise between the PRON and the FJN. The Front's activists are not invited to meetings. It is a fact that the FJN has become fossilized in absence of grassroots support. Its plane

of action was too narrow, limited to public projects and now and then drives, e.g. election drives. The PRON must have a broader program.

E. Czykwin: Our most important goal is to win over those who are negatively disposed. The PRON will gain broader support on condition that it operates effective mechanisms to counteract political and social deformations.

Cz. Adamski: The national accord is the paramount idea of our work. It requires great self-denial and strength of will. Otherwise, any undertaking will not succeed. We believe that people have love in their hearts. We do not carry PRON identity cards and we do not know just how many of us there are--let us say, about half a million. But the radius of our actions reaches the entire Poland. Everyone has the right to do good. Beginning at what age? Even school youth can be a part of our Movement.

We have one Fatherland and cannot lose it. We know its price. It is our inspiration and the wellspring of our hope to win the society over.

#### Binding Glue of National Accord

✓ Olsztyn GAZETA OLSZTYNSKA in Polish 21 Mar 83 p 3

[Article by Antoni Soloma: "The Mortar That Binds Accord Among Citizens"]

[Text] /The renascent youth movement active for the last 2 years under the name of Union of Rural Youth [ZMW], held on 11 and 12 March [1983] in Warsaw a scientific symposium dealing with historical research into the worker-peasant alliance during the 1882-1982 period. These two striking milestone dates alone show that the last 100 years of the fatherland's history have been seen in scientific perspective./

As for the multiplicity of ideas and the diversity and variety of topics as well as the heterogeneity of historical situations, events and facts, the aim was to order them along the axis of development of the revolutionary worker movement in Poland and the no less well-known traditions of peasant movement. Ten doctors, docents and professors presented papers at this interesting and needed meeting which undoubtedly offered a form of communication between generations, a forum for honest dialogue "without stoplights and dampers," within an assemblage of about 300 activists and scientists from different generations, differing in experience, university degree, and political and personal views and outlook.

There is no way in this brief report to avoid oversimplification or properly summarize the harvest of that meeting, so rich in creative formulations, hypotheses and differences of opinion. Only some guiding ideas of the discussion can be described.

The alliance of the peasant and worker masses based on common class interests played the decisive role in the national-liberation struggle of Poles. "The socialists and populists formed the strongest socio-political groupings already in the times of the [anti-Russian Polish] uprisings." But the idea itself of the worker-peasant alliance had been shaped not only in the crossfire of the class struggle but also in that of disputes of theory. For example, "L. Warynski and comrades included the peasantry among the working class. Others, such as S. Krusinski, did not view this social stratum as possessing revolutionary force."

Thus, to Warynski the worker-peasant alliance was unnecessary and to Krusinski impossible.

"The father of Polish Marxism," L. Krzywicki (1859-1941), an economist. and political scientist, perceived the solution of the peasant and rural question to lie in overcoming the barriers dividing town from country, workers from peasants. He stressed the need for a broad political alliance of these two classes and their parties and organizations. This idea was accepted by the nascent worker and peasant movement, on impressing it into various forms and imbuing it with different meanings. Some organizations spoke of "the struggle between labor and capital," while others made the future of the alliance and the victory of the revolution contingent on getting "the peasantry rid itself of 'the mentality of the landowner' in favor of 'the mentality of the proletariat.'" The peasant activists rallying round the radical peasant periodical ZARANIE [Dawn] had commented as follows on the worker-peasant alliance: "We do not proclaim a thoughtless unity but desire a deliberate examination of what links us and what divides us--so that an inviolable brotherhood would arise on the soil of familiarity with the differing fate of each." Both political movements (worker and peasant--A.S.) had during their "youthful" period preferred, as justly emphasized by M. Sliwa (Krakow), to employ different tactics and programs ("...socialists discussed rural and agricultural issues more often than peasant leaders discussed the worker question"). In effect, one can speak of an unambiguous background of ties between workers and peasants.

During the inter-war period the crystallization of the worker-peasant alliance proceeded on principles of unity of their class interests, transcending the barriers of mutual illwill or misunderstandings, in the struggle against the bourgeois-big landowner system of contemporary Poland. The slogans that then appeared spoke of rapprochement between "the world of work of town and country" and "capital equally ruins the peasant and the farmer," "the disputes arising between the worker and peasant parties are at most family disputes, "petty bourgeoisie is a dangerous partner," "workers are our brethren," "both the worker and the peasant are equally downtrodden by the great and mighty of the world," etc. Following the experience gained in the struggle against Fascism in Germany and France, "in the summer of 1935 the 7th Congress of the Comintern worked out the concept of the popular front."

In implementing that concept, the Communist Party of Poland rid itself of various dogmatic and sectarian assessments of peasant groupings. United-front manifestations, actions and struggle began to spread to increasingly broader circles. "Communized villages" and "Bolshevized programs" were mentioned in reports by police spies on the peasantry's demand of freedom, education, land and work. As if to oppose this, the radical-militant songs of the "wiciarze" [members of a peasant party] resounded more broadly and loudly, and the refrain, "Let the fist of the plowman join/The worker's fist which crushes chains," was not the only appeal for cooperation in the struggle for a just system of society.

As Professor J. Borkowski stated, in the conspirational groups active under the German occupation "the partners found themselves again, formed jointly elements of the Polish Underground and discussed plans for a new Poland." This also brought to mind the unusually pertinent formulation made by the 9th Joint Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee and the Supreme Committee of the United Peasant Party [ZSL]: "...the Polish countryside was the partisans' garrison, the soldiers' bivouac and the shelter for the hunted and salvation for the starving..." The resolutions of that plenum were not much discussed at this symposium, but its

atmosphere of partnership, inspiring nature and recommendations could be tangibly felt in the methods used to analyze nearly every all problems and especially those concerning People's Poland. Besides, Professor Doctor Habilitatus Jozef Kukulka, deputy chairman of the ZSL Supreme Committee, and Waldemar Winkiel, secretary of the ZSL Supreme Committee, took part in some of the deliberations. This was probably one of the most successful activities organized in the last 2 years by the Historical Commission of the National Board of the ZMW. It surely is good that this new organization entering the arena of socio-political life--an heir and a continuator of radical traditions of the Polish countryside--is reaching toward the wellsprings that provide the strongest mortar binding the national accord, the mortar representing the foundation of socialist Poland.

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ZIELONA GORA PROVINCE PARTY ACTIVITIES REPORTED

Regional Delegates Party Meeting

Zielona Gora GAZETA LUBUSKA in Polish 18 Jan 83 pp 1, 2

[Article: "Before the Provincial Reports Conference in Zielona Gora--Regional Meeting of Delegates"]

[Text] As we have already reported, on 26 January of this year the Provincial Reports Conference of the Polish United Workers' Party [PZPR] will take place in Zielona Gora. It will make an appraisal of the activity of the provincial party organization at the midpoint of the authorities' term of office. The regional delegates' meetings will precede the conference on 18-20 of this month.

Today at 1400 a meeting of delegates from the Zielona Gora region will take place at the Provincial Committee [KW] of the PZPR. On the 19th of this month at 1400 the delegates from the regions of Wolsztyn, Sulechow and Swiebodzin will meet in Sulechow. On the 20th of this month meetings will take place in Nowa Sol (at 1400, the regions of Nowa Sol and Szprotawa) and Zary (1500, the regions of Zary and Zagan). On the 21st of this month at 1400 a meeting of delegates will take place in Krosno from the regions Lubsko, Bugin and Krosno.

Representatives of the leadership of the Provincial Committee and Provincial Office [UW] will take part in the meetings.

The basic goal of the meetings is to familiarize the delegates with the civic, political and economic situation of the province through the conduct of a reports campaign as well as an initial discussion of the primary draft program documents of the conference and the establishment of the principles of the conference.

## Executive Board on Reports Conference Status

Zielona Gora GAZETA LUBUSKA in Polish 25 Jan 83 pp 1, 2

[Article: "From the Conference of the Executive Board of the KW PZPR in Zielona Gora; Status of Preparations for Provincial Conference; Information About the Trade Union Movement"]

[Text] Yesterday a meeting of the executive board of the Provincial Committee of the PZPR took place in Zielona Gora.

The executive board was apprised of the status of organizational preparations for the Provincial Reports Conference. The draft of the review-programs report presented by the secretary of the Provincial Committee was also ratified for the conference. It included a series of propositions and suggestions submitted during regional meetings of delegates as well as the opinions of members of the executive board of the provincial committee concerning, among other things, solutions to a series of economic problems and the waging of an ideological war.

The executive board was then informed about the development of the trade union movement in the province.

Up to now 133 plant trade unions have gained legal status, and in the provincial court, another 11 unions are awaiting registration. In plants, enterprises and institutions there are 162 founding committees and 213 initiation groups. In consideration of the number of registered unions, Zielona Gora is one of the first 10 provinces in the country. It is extremely important to appreciate the fact that the wait for registration lasts but a few days; this indicates, among other things, the proper preparation of submitted statutory and organizational documents.

The party organizations try to create a favorable climate for the development of the union rebirth movement. However, fear of the belief that the party interferes in union affairs hinders many activists and members of the party in their access to the unions. An explanation of the conduct by party members in these matters is included in the resolution of the 10th Plenum of the CC, according to which it is necessary to show the way in practical activity.

The executive board of the provincial committee was informed about the use of property and party funds in 1982. The proposed balance sheet of the provincial committee was approved for 1982.

## Party Tasks for Solving Daily Problems

Zielona Gora GAZETA LUBUSKA in Polish 12-13 Feb 83 pp 1, 3

[Article: "Before the KW PZPR Plenum in Zielona Gora--Duties of the Leadership of the KW and UW"]

[Text] The next plenary session of the Provincial Committee of the PZPR in Zielona Gora will be devoted to the past problems of residents of the province and to the tasks of party echelons and organizations in the solving of daily problems of the working people. Forums for the discernment of public attitudes will be sponsored by members of the leadership of the provincial committee and the provincial office for the population in several cities. They will take place in:

Gubin--the 18th of this month, in the conference room of the Town and Parish [gmina] Committee of the PZPR at 1000-1500. The participants will be: Zbyszek Piwonski, vice-governor; representatives of the problem-solving commissions of the provincial committee as well as the divisions of the provincial office--for municipal and residential management, employment and agriculture; and the district inspector of work.

Gozdnica--the 16th of this month in the conference room of the city office at 1000-1500. Zenon Zobecki, vice governor, as well as members of the problem-solving commissions of the provincial committee and representatives of the Divisions of Municipal and Residential Management as well as of trade of the provincial office will be attending.

Czerwiensk--the 22d of this month in the conference room of the town and parish office at 1000-1500. It will be attended by Jan Rubeszewski, provincial committee secretary, members of the problem-solving commissions of the provincial office, chairman of the WZSR [Provincial Union Agricultural Cooperatives] and representatives of the Division of Agriculture and Food management of the provincial office.

Zary--the 24th of this month in the conference room of the town office at 1000-1500. It will be attended by Roman Czolhan, secretary of the provincial committee, members of the problem-solving commissions of the provincial committee and representatives of the Division of Trade of the provincial office, Provincial Board of WSS [Provincial Consumer Cooperative] SPOLEM, the Social Security Agency and the State Trade Inspectorate.



## Recommendations From Reports Conference

Zielona Gora GAZETA LUBUSKA in Polish 16 Feb 83 pp 1, 2

[Article: "From the Executive Board of the Provincial Committee of the PZPR in Zielona Gora: Information About the Situation in Agriculture; Convening of the Plenary Session of the Provincial Committee; Suggestions From the Reports Conference"]

[Text] Yesterday a meeting of the executive board of the Provincial Committee of the PZPR took place in Zielona Gora.

In the first item of the conference, the executive board of the provincial committee was informed about the report from the provincial office regarding the situation in agriculture, and especially the status of animal production. Last year was the third successive year of a setback in breeding. The executive board of the provincial committee turned to the provincial governor for the presentation immediately of an official program with the goal of restraining the further decline in the number of livestock.

In the discussion, a number of inadequacies in the work of agriculture and the institutions servicing it was pointed out. It was underlined that the possibilities for increasing the provincial fodder base are still not in full use and that the meadows and soil of a low category are being utilized inefficiently. Despite progress in supplying the means of production, the effects in production of crops and livestock are not to be seen. Among other things, the growth of output of lime, increase in the tempo of building silos, and improvement in the work of agricultural service were regarded as very important matters. The dairy cooperatives were critically discussed because the number of villages not included in the procurement of milk is increasing, and in many regions of the province, dairies are sending milk of substandard quality to shops.

The executive board discussed and confirmed the concept of holding very soon a plenary session of the provincial committee. It is being planned for late February or early March. This plenum will discuss the tasks of party echelons and organizations in solving the daily problems of working people, and information about the implementation of recommendations and requirements submitted during regional meetings of delegates and at the Provincial Reports Conference will be presented. In several cities and parishes [gmina] the members of the Commission of Complaints, Recommendations and Indications from the population in the provincial committee of the PZPR will hold consultational meetings with the aktiv. Their goal is, among other things, the gathering of opinions about settlement of complaints and grievances of the population. Moreover, the members of the leadership of the provincial committee and the provincial office will hold several meetings with the populace to become informed about the growing problems of citizens and to settle matters lying within the competency of administrative and party authorities of the province.

The executive board of the provincial committee considered the set of recommendations and requirements prepared by the Group for Recommendations in the Provincial Committee of the PZPR that were submitted at regional meetings of delegates and the Provincial Reports Conference. There is a total of 73, of which

the settlement of 64 lies in the scope of the provincial authorities. Comprehensive information about the means of settling the recommendations will be presented to the members of the provincial committee at the next plenum.

The KW Executive Board accepted the schedule for the plenary sessions of the provincial committee for 1983 and the work of the executive board of the provincial committee in the first half of the year.

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VETERANS ASSOCIATION SECRETARY DISCUSSES ORGANIZATION, 1983 GOALS

Warsaw ZA WOLNOSCI LUD in Polish 9 Apr 83 pp 8, 9

[Article: "State of the Veterans Association Organization and Main Tasks of the Association for 1983--Presentation of Headquarters' Secretary, Gen Jakub Krajewski, at Plenary Session of Veterans' Association Headquarters on 25 March 1983"]

[Text] It can be concluded from information about the political situation of the country and on the international scene as already presented at our meeting by chairman of the Veterans Association [ZBoWiD] Headquarters, Wlodzimierz Sokorski, that in 1983 we are entering a period no less difficult than the preceeding years, because the crisis brought with it not only negative economic results but also created many adverse psychological, social-moral and cultural phenomenon.

We are aware, that martial law stopped destruction of the economy and dismantling of our statehood, curbed antisocialist forces, and disciplined the anarchistic trends of collective life, but martial law also could not settle everything.

Today, in the circumstances of its suspension we must continue work toward stabilization of the economy and acceleration of industrial and agricultural production rhythm.

As Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski said at the PZPR Provincial Reports-Program Conference in Katowice, there is only one road to that objective: it is "an escape forward--to higher yields and strict frugality in work discipline and social activeness."

As the ZBoWiD we had and still have at our disposition many essential active members who through further incitement to social activity should be taken advantage of, for the purpose of social economic changes and creation of a broad platform for national understanding.

That command for the ZBoWiD results from the character of our organization. I will recall, that it was formed on the foundation of various political orientations, very often differing pasts, and a military affiliation of its members during the years of struggle with the Nazi invader on the war fronts, as well as in the resistance movement.

Varied in respect to combat origins the association constitutes a specific political barometer, which acutely reacts to the situation being created in the country and in the world. An example of this was even the trends and phenomenon which took place in 1980-1981, in which we participated, generally displaying an organizational solidity as well as ability to strengthen the political-social awareness of its members according to the principals of the WBoWiD statute and political principles of the people's government.

The following data characterizes the association's organizational state as well as its environmental structure as of 31 December 1982:

The ZBoWiD has 660,857 members, among which:

--526,120 are normal male members;

--483 are male members under care;

--54,994 are normal females members;

--79,260 are female members under care.

In relation to 1981 the organization grew by 9754 members. That growth tendency is still holding its own in contrast to the years 1980-1981, which were characterized by a drop in the number of members.

In relation to 1981 we note more of an increase in the number of those under care, especially among women. In 1982, 3684 members under care entered the organization.

Rights resulting from the bill passed 26 May 1982 have a direct influence on the increase of people accepted into the ranks of the ZBoWiD as well as an increase in the number of people trying to obtain a combatant's certificate. Actually about 3,000 declarations were filed in the ZBoWiD Province Headquarters of the Warsaw capital-province alone. In other provincial headquarters there were 250-900. That fact has a bearing mainly on the work of the verification commission.

The natural decline in members as a result of deaths came to 22,959 persons in 1982. This is 9.33 percent higher in relation to 1981.

The association carries on work in 3012 city, township and work chapters. In relation to 1981 the number of chapters increased by 39. That means, that provincial headquarters in essence did not take advantage of the Main Headquarters' suggestion recommending the division of large chapters. This especially holds true for the Province Headquarters in Warsaw, where there are chapters bringing together 1,000 or even 1,800 members. In general, this is a result of objective conditions such as a lack of meeting places, a strong feeling of organizational ties, and questions of membership dues. Independent however of these arguments, large chapters numberwise consequently are doomed to limited fragmentary activity, not insuring the current needs of the association's members.

Management and coordination of the organization's work in the various regions is performed by:

--49 provincial headquarters, 17 district headquarters, 19 municipal headquarters, 25 municipal-township headquarters, and 26 township headquarters.

In relation to 1981 the number of regional headquarters on the district, municipal and municipal-township level increased by 59 (there were 28). This took place with permission of the Main Headquarters. As a result of the reports-elections campaign within the chapters, which had the purpose of better coordination of regional work, some provincial headquarters created district, township and municipal-township headquarters.

The following data characterize the association's structure according to affiliation:

--participants of the Russian Revolution, the Silesian Uprisings and Wielkopolska Uprising, veterans of battles in Spain, organizers of underground schools, and concentration camp prisoners--are groups most advanced in age and constitute together 8.6 percent of the organization's body (58,166 members).

--soldiers of the 1939 defensive war, soldiers of the people's Polish Army and Polish Armed Forces in West Europe constitute the largest number of association members with 44.6 percent of the organization's general body (294,982 members).

--participants in the resistance movement (the Home Army, the People's Army, Peasant Battalions) constitute 20 percent of the association's body (131,726 members).

--participants in the fight to preserve the people's rule--12 percent of the ZBoWiD's general body (80,292 members).

--veterans of the revolutionary movement, Poles--ex-soldiers of the Soviet Army, founders of the Association of Polish Patriots, Poznan Fortress defenders and children of the Zamosc region--constitute 2.3 percent of the organization's body--that is 15,848 members.

The administration presidium of the ZBoWiD, drawing conclusions from the situation existing in 1980-1981, and striving to slow down the spontaneity in the activity of social groups, recognized the execution of essential reevaluations in social group work as sensible. This was expressed in the presidium's resolution from 9 July 1981 on the question of social group commissions. Next to national commissions already in existence up to now--Veterans of the Revolutionary Battles of 1905-1917, Veterans of the Silesian Uprisings, Veterans of the Wielkopolska Uprising, Veterans of the Battles for Spain's Independence "Dabrowszczaks" as well as the National Commission of former prisoners of Nazi Prisons and Concentration Camps--other national social group commissions were formed:

1. National Commission of Former Opposition Movement Participants (encompassing the Home Army, the People's Army, the Peasants' Battalions and others),
2. National Commission of Former Polish Army Soldiers (encompassing soldiers from 1939, the People's Polish Army and the Polish Armed Forces in West Europe),
3. National Commission of Poles--former Soviet Army soldiers,
4. National Commission "the Sons of the Regiment" (encompassing volunteers--underage soldiers of various military formations and of the opposition movement).

In spite of certain comments on the interpretation of the executory decisions, it should be noted here that realization of the combatant resolution awakened ZBoWiD groups to inspiring activity, enriching the range of contents and forms of work. We are also aware of the fact, that in the near future, certain questions concerning the structure of groups should be put in order. With all of our power we emphasize, that we must always direct ourselves in our work according to resolutions and decisions of the statute, which states that a chapter is a basic, statutory organizational and territorial unit, and in this framework proper action of commissions, active members, clubs and community centers, should serve toward further integration of our organization, because only an integrated and strong association can actively act in matters concerning its members and the fatherland.

Those matters require those kind of organizational decisions, which creating conditions for the work of chapters and groups in those places where they exist, would influence the strengthening of unity of ZBoWiD purposes and tasks, in conjunction with its origins, mission and class evaluation of phenomenon.

In respect to the number of members, the largest organizations are: Warsaw-72,000, Katowice-40,000, Poznan-31,000, Kielce-27,000, Lodz-27,000, Wroclaw-24,000, and Gdansk-20,000.

There are six provincial organizations having under 20,000 members, 11 under 15,000, 24 under 10,000 and 1 under 5000 (Skierniewice).

On the background of a general increase in the number of ZBoWiD members, we note a drop of 291-1,000 persons in 3 provinces (Radom, Opole, Wroclaw), and of 10-400 persons in 32 provinces.

The Provincial Headquarters in Warsaw noted the largest increase in the number of members of 2153, and in seven other provinces by 400-900 persons.

Particular problems and conclusions in the area of internal organizational work of the association result from the presented analysis, which we will look over and solve concurrent with other political and social tasks, which are waiting for us this year.

The sociopolitical situation after suspension of martial law as well as the changes taking place in the country will define the ZBoWiD's work in 1983.

#### Broad Social Tasks

Work in this area should concentrate on a closer tie of internal organizational tasks of the association with national and social tasks, of which there will be a lot in 1983. They are current and long-range tasks mainly concerning:

- concentrating our efforts toward overcoming the present crisis, bring economic reforms into action, and fulfillment of the process of social revitalization,

- focusing society's--and within this, the younger generation's--attention on work contained in the program proposed by the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth taking into consideration the Polish right of state and principles of political realism,

- a release of lasting social action, citizens' initiative, growth of the subjective position of citizens and their accountability for matters of state,

- unifying action toward strengthening social order, work discipline, the fight with forces of evil, toward increasing production in industry and agriculture as well as other action essential for the life and work of citizens.

We should realize, that realization of these tasks will take place in an atmosphere of a keen fight between followers of socialism and the whole anti-socialist extreme and opposition, and will simultaneously occur on many plans in the sphere of international economic politics, on the plane of science and education. Accompanying it will be attacks by representatives of anti-socialist opposition within our country, which will be conducted unceasingly and with all of its fierceness by prowestern European channels of Polish language radio broadcasting stations. As an organization we must set up a firm resistance to these attacks.

We are not losing sight of these problems. Though maybe not yet according to our needs, we are already accenting the explicit position of the association in a significant manner. It will at least mention the following:

- a letter to Polonia combatant organizations in the West published in the press about our relation to certain events in Poland, to restrictions of the U.S. administration's decision to introduce new types of missiles in West Europe. We already received an answer from and support for it from Polonia centers in Great Britain and West Germany;

- the resolution taking up by the Main Council presidium and Main Headquarters presidium of the ZBoWiD in opposition to the reassessment of the established postwar order in Europe by cold war forces in West Germany, and in opposition to the presentation of Zimmermann and other revisionists and retaliators;

--we receive hundreds of protest resolutions in ZBoWiD provincial headquarters and chapters in protest to the revisionist politics of certain circles in West Germany, which negate our boundaries on the Oder and Lusatian Neisse River.

In internal matters of our country we will start out by meeting an increase in effectiveness of management, increase in production, especially in agriculture, and in addition, in preparation for spring of 1983.

The secretary of the ZBoWiD administration addressed a letter on that subject to farmers--members of the ZBoWiD and the general body of those working in agriculture--with an appeal for activeness in making the program of feeding the nation a reality. Those matters were and still are subjects for consideration by plenary sessions of provincial headquarters and ZBoWiD chapter meetings.

Other initiatives concerning the participation of members of the association within the PRON are also taken up in this spirit within ZBoWiD chapters and social groups. The ZBoWiD chapter in the Polish Academy of Science is just one instance. Initiatives of this type are taken up by many ZBoWiD chapters. For instance we should remember, that:

--200 Citizens' Committees for National Rebirth [OKON] came into being in city districts, housing developments and places of work of the Warsaw capital province through ZBoWiD initiatives.

--Among the about 6,000 citizens comprising the membership of OKON and PRON in Kielce Province, 25 percent are ZBoWiD members.

--in Nowy Sacz Province the chairman functions of OKON are filled by eight ZBoWiD members and 20 ZBoWiD members are chairmen of national councils on various levels.

--450 ZBoWiD activists are active in the ruling body of OKON in Bydgoszcz Province, and 18 among them are filling chairman functions.

According to incomplete information which we have now, over 480 ZBoWiD members fill OKON and PRON chairman functions. It is useful to note that lately whole ZBoWiD organizations are joining PRON, introducing appropriate resolutions to that effect at their plenary sessions.

It can be concluded from the above examples, that ZBoWiD is taking sizable part in creating the platform for understanding and cooperation of all patriotic forces in the socialist revitalization of the country. The participation of our organization in this movement will become broader and more concrete in vital matters of society's everyday life, which will bring it trust and recognition.

The responsibility of all of us in ZBoWiD is joint participation in dialogue with society, presentation of objective arguments, founded on our own personal attitude--in the home, environment, place of work--for the purpose of creating a climate of understanding for the great question of national rebirth.



Assuming that provincial headquarters received in February of this year the resolution of the head council presidium's and ZBoWiD Headquarters' joint meeting about the main directions of action for ZBoWiD in 1983 as well as the directive propaganda, I would like to call members of the present headquarters plenary sessions attention to those directions of action, on which the main energies of the organization will be concentrated in the current year.

#### Internal Organizational Activity

Still in first place will be the reports-elections campaign in the association, which is entering the second stage of meetings, which will consist of district delegate conventions in the second and third quarter this year and conventions of provincial delegates which are to begin in the fourth quarter of this year.

Provincial headquarters received election instructions for the realization of provincial conventions. At the last session of the headquarters presidium the proportion of delegates to the number of members at the ZBoWiD Congress was ascertained, adopting the principle, that one delegate will represent 500 ZBoWiD members. The limits of delegates allowed, will be sent to individual provincial headquarters within the next few days. The headquarters secretariat will carry out an evaluation of the reports-elections campaign in chapters and district, municipal-township organizations, and will generalize from the conclusions resulting from them, which serve to be prepared as materials to the ZBoWiD Congress.

The undertaking of preparation work beginning in the second quarter of this year, concerned with working out indispensable standard and organizational documents for the Seventh ZBoWiD Congress seen for 1984, was begun by a call by the Main Headquarters presidium to commissions to work on propositions for eventual changes in the statute and ZBoWiD program-ideological declaration.

It is our common purpose, that socio-political criteria of the reports-elections campaign embracing all organizational structures of the association, be incorporated for a manifold increase of ZBoWiD activity, further integration of the association's ranks, improvement of the organization's work and an emancipation of additional motivations in the process of socialist revitalization.

In the second half of this year we predict that the issuing of new IDs for combatants associated with and those not associated with ZBoWiD will get underway. This will be one ID with two inserts. The degree to which work has advanced allows us to assume, that these plans will be finalized on time. Provincial headquarters are receiving appropriate instructions outlining the means of bringing this task to reality.

An analysis of the organizational state of ZBoWiD indicates a need to concentrate the association's work above all in the chapters as well as in environs in which there are a large number of members. It also appears practical to divide up large ZBoWiD chapters as was recommended by the administration's secretariat resolution. This will have an influence through

increased operativeness and activity, especially in the area of social-living conditions care as well as of the level of internal organizational work.

#### Socio-Living Conditions Affairs

The resolution of 26 May 1982 is a significant step in the area of services available to combatants; all the more so significant in its statement, that it was passed in an economically very difficult period for the country.

We presently have behind us the crossing-point of basic difficulties connected with its initiation, arising as a result of needless bureaucracy of certain offices in arranging formalities. It is necessary to estimate, that further embodiment of the resolution will proceed without many problems.

On the basis of data obtained during reports-elections meetings in chapters and plenary sessions of provincial headquarters we know that the resolutions' decisions--especially certain executive instructions--have been met with mixed feelings of the combatant environment. The ZBoWiD as well as the Bureau of Combatant Affairs and the Sejm receive many letters, and even resolutions on that subject, in which the writers propose, among other things:

--allocation of discounts on the purchase of fuel for combatants who do not use central heating, city heat and water,

--a discount on the purchase of LP gas,

--also recognizing members under care with certificates to which combatants are entitled.

Those propositions, as also many others, were entered into the resolution project by the Main Headquarters, but because of the country's economic situation they were not accepted within the executive orders.

Keeping in mind article 18, point 4 of the resolution, which says, that in executing the decree, the Council of Ministers can establish other rights and discounts as well as outline the degree and the principles for allocation, we intend to look over those postulates in the understanding of the Bureau for Combatants Affairs and direct them to competent authorities in the form of an appropriately prepared document.

Considering that the law on specific rights for combatants doesn't solve the questions of the entire combatant community, we are taking up work intended to expand and improve the system of permanent care mechanisms in the area of material, social and health care for ZBoWiD members.

The realization of these problems should strive above all in the direction of elaboration and increasing the quality of the social and health care system for handicapped combatants, which require everyday care and help, in addition to help connected to arranging discounts and certifications resulting from the law.

All forms of friendly mutual aid--aid received from the Polish Committee for Social Aid [PKPS], the Polish Red Cross [PCK], and from youth, mainly scouts--means much for our older and lonely friends. The realization of this postulate stands alongside orders from the minister of health and social welfare on the question of creating groups to coordinate protective work on the city and township level. The groups are made up of tenured health service workers as well as representatives of social organizations--ZBoWiD included. City and township managers will direct the work of these groups. Our responsibility is to join actively the work of these groups, in the framework of their activity to help combatants.

In the present year the administration will have 220 million zlotys at its disposition to socially and materially help combatants. That is a sum 40 percent higher than for an analogous period last year. Considering the privileges and discounts as a result of the combatant law we propose that these means be used in a rational and purposely justifiable manner.

While aware of the country's situation, we are not backing down from measures undertaken to develop a network of homes for combatants. In actuality we have 10 homes for combatants at our disposition, as well as a certain number of openings in social aid homes in Kielce and Bialystok set aside for combatants.

As is known, the Home for the Deserving Combatant in the Warsaw Lazurowa housing development will still be opened for use this year.

Through a joint effort of the Bureau for Combatant Affairs and the ZBoWiD a second home for combatants and wartime invalids is being planned in the Warsaw Goclawek housing development, as are homes for combatants in Lublin and Opole. Efforts to locate similar projects in Wroclaw and Katowice are underway. All provincial headquarters should take up efforts to build homes for combatants, wherever such a need is present.

I am informing the plenum, that at the beginning of next year, building will begin on Dickens' Street in Warsaw on a specialized medical clinic together with a back-up of 48 hotel beds and a cafeteria, intended for people from outside Warsaw.

The Main Headquarters together with the Bureau for Combatant Affairs is trying to increase the quota of sanatorium and vacation allocations. In spite of the fact that we will get significantly more of these allocations than in past years, nonetheless that amount still does not cover our needs. We see the building of more sanatoriums for combatants as a solution to this problem. We are presently building a sanatorium in Inowroclaw with 386 beds, and in Ustron-Zawodzie an 800-bed sanatorium is built in which 200 beds are to be earmarked for combatants. A project for building a 254-bed sanatorium in Naleczow is ready.

#### Awards

In 1982 the Awards Commission of the Main Headquarters considered, all told, 109,762 applications for awards. As a result 88,553 were given out, among

which were 8898 decorations, 3516 Partisan Crosses, 3551 Medals of Victory and Freedom, 61,034 medals "for participation in the 1939 defensive war," and 11,000 Warsaw Uprising Crosses.

From January to March 20 of this year only 1089 decoration awards, 1500 medals "for participation in the defensive war of 1939," and several hundred Warsaw Uprising Crosses were accepted.

The amount of awards considered for the present year was set according to the level of past years. Considering that from January of this year a 20 percent increase in combatant benefits was introduced as a result of the law, it is necessary in the practice of giving awards to tighten the criteria in looking at applications for award decorations. Those colleagues should be designated which distinguished themselves in the fight with the enemy and with active work for Poland after liberation, who constitute an authentic active body of the organization, and who prove themselves by a wide range of social work. The constantly lowered requirements in designating decorations can be seen in the fact, that over the last 10 weeks the Main Award Commission did not find a justifiable basis and rejected 250 applications in the group for special decorations.

We proposed to completely discontinue awarding of the medals "for participation in the 1939 defensive war" and the Warsaw Uprising Cross. In that situation provincial headquarters should process the applications as quickly as possible and send them to the administration.

Applications for the awards Partisan Cross and Medal of Victory and Freedom will be processed according to the same criteria as up to now.

I call to attention, that the headquarters presidium supported a proposition considering a medal for participation in battles for preservation of the people's rule. That is a proposition introduced by the 80,000 member division of participants of battles for preservation of the people's rule.

I recall, that the handing out of awards should be carried out by qualified persons and that the ritual of award ceremonies should be in compliance with the dignity and character of that occasion.

#### Work with Youth

The events of the last few years revealed a massive deterioration in the sphere of educating youth. Cumulation of the crisis situation in many areas of life facilitated negative influences on youth's psyche by internal and external enemies of socialism in Poland.

Based on these premises we are treating the process of educating youth as a long-range plan, requiring comprehensive and intensified presentation of our past and the present in accordance with historical truth.

A leading work in this field is the resolution of the head council and ZBoWiD Headquarters presidium from 7 May 1982, which was taken up at a joint session

with representatives of the youth organizations Socialist Union of Polish Youth [ZSMP], Peasant Youth Union [ZMW], Socialist Union of Polish Students [SZSP], Polish Scouts' Association [ZHP]. We already took up a number of problems, mainly of an organizational character. Also devoted to that question was the March session of the Main Headquarters presidium, at which tasks for this year for youth commissions connected with the Main Headquarters and regional administrative channels were outlined.

We are looking for a social base for development of an intensified form of work with youth within circles of ZBoWiD sympathizers and the activity of school display rooms of national remembrance. In actuality we have only 400 school chapters of ZBoWiD sympathizers in 14 provinces registered. We also have noted the functioning of about 5000 display rooms of national remembrance, which are taken care of by about 12,000 social guardians, who in the most part, are members of ZBoWiD. However, an alarming phenomenon is the fact, that over the last few years a noticeable drop in the number of display rooms of national remembrance in schools has taken place. That fact is seen especially strikingly in the provinces of: Opole--a decline of 305 display rooms, Warsaw--180, Czestochowa--44, Skierniewice--38, Szczecin--34.

An increase in the number of display rooms for remembrance from 12 to 39 took place in the Wroclaw, Kielce, Sieradz, Siedlce and Katowice Provinces.

After completing an analysis of the situation in this area we intend to publish a set of regulations which will organizationally and substantially put that activity in order.

Noting the fact, that work with youth is based in many provinces on many years of experience, we feel, that it requires more activization, especially in the area of contents and form connected with the formation of socialist social attitudes by striving for the values and models created during the sacrificial fight for independence and social progress. Anniversaries of important historical events and their celebrations this year should help to intensify this.

#### Political-Propaganda Activity

The following holidays falling in 1983 should be favorable for broadening the base for strengthening national unity: 65th anniversary of the rebirth of the Polish state, 300th anniversary of the Viennese victory, 40th anniversary of the founding of the Polish People's Army, 40th anniversary of the first battles by Peasants' Battalions, and 40th anniversary of the outbreak of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising.

Political, military and humanistic considerations obligate us to celebrate these events, so that without simplification in bringing our history to light, we will give them an appropriate dimension, dignity and form. They should produce a proper evaluation of our past, the origin of Polish generations of patriots-revolutionists, through who's fight Poland was born in a new historical form--socialist Poland.

From among the rich gamut of political-propaganda undertaking the celebrations of the 40th anniversary of the Polish People's Army's founding, the Month of National Remembrance and Victory Day should especially be accented.

The Month of National Remembrance will be inaugurated with a solemn commemoration in the Polish Theater of 9 April with the participation of political, administrative and ZBoWiD authorities. An appeal of the ZBoWiD administration and Council for Protection of Monuments to Battles and Martyrdom was announced on the subject of uniting all progressive forces in the fight for disarmament and peace in the world. Within the framework of the Month of National Remembrance, ceremonies connected with celebrations of the 40th anniversary of the outbreak of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising will begin on 12 April. Also, the 38th anniversary of the liberation of many Nazi concentration camps falls in April. In connection with that performances and celebrations will take place, in which our ZBoWiD provincial administrations should join in, in accordance with adjustments made with administrative and political regional authorities.

In connection with Victory Day, which at the same time was declared Combatant Day, it is planned that members of the ZBoWiD main ruling body will take part in the solemn wreath laying ceremony from the nation at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier. It is deemed advisable and vital, that provincial headquarters also at this time organize solemn plenary sessions, giving them an appropriate dignity and organizational format, and including wreath-laying at places of national remembrance.

We should also make use of the anniversaries of important events falling in this year to emphasize the importance of the idea of Polish-Soviet friendship for the fate of our country. Considering the fact, that in these crisis conditions through which our country is going, anti-Soviet feelings are being manifested, it should be remembered that the question of a basis of Polish-Soviet friendship was, is and will always remain an important element of ZBoWiD activity.

#### Activity Abroad

We consider the need to achieve support for a broad understanding of the combatant movement in the world for our work toward peace, disarmament and the assurance of agreeable cooperation with all nations as the main goal of our association's work in this field. The achievement of this goal sets before us a whole series of practical tasks, which in their execution this year will require much work input by the association's leadership and its broad active body.

Together with our socialist allies and friends we will have an influence on the direction of work by the International Federation of Opposition Movement fighters, of which we are an active member and co-founder, on setting forth our demands for insuring peace. We will also make use of the world combatant movement's readiness to counteract the danger resulting from an uncontrolled arms race. We will do everything we can to bring about an international meeting of combatants as quick as possible, which should condemn the arms race

and demand the right of nations to life in peaceful conditions and friendship between nations.

In the framework of the FIR [expansion unknown] we will call to action the fight against all forms of fascist and Nazi rebirth in Europe and in other countries.

The ZBoWiD administration and active body of Second World War soldiers groups will develop action to further strengthen ties with Polonia combatant groups in Europe and countries across the ocean. We must not only bring back to life contacts with our colleagues in other countries which in past years have been somewhat weakened, but also revive them through broader promotion of intergroup contacts in our country and abroad. Substantial premises exist for the actualization of that plan. For instance, it would even be appropriate to more widely make use of--in agreement with the regulation governing those awards--the recognition of the medal "for participation in the defensive war of 1939" and the Warsaw Uprising Cross for foreign colleagues from Polonia combatant groups.

#### Association Finances

We will continue to improve this work, through thrift, considerations of self-sufficiency and financial independence of the association.

Provincial administrations should take note of execution of their own earnings established in their budgets, and especially of the influence on them by membership dues.

As in the last year, subsidies in 1983 from the federal treasury in the framework of so-called combatants' funds will be earmarked only for social care.

All other expenses will be covered by organizations' own earnings. They should be as thrifty as possible and all cost increases--personal as well as material--must be covered by its own earnings. This is the basic condition of financial management for all of the elements of our organization in the difficult economic situation of our country.

Provincial administrations this year should adopt certain problems of ZBoWiD activity and expand them through their own initiatives, in accordance with the needs and possibilities resulting from regional programs of action.

ZBoWiD members were always on the front line, even when the coordinated anti-Polish activity of the West and internal antisocialist opposition forced us to defend socialism in Poland.

Today, after the suspension of martial law, when we look over the outcome in significantly quieter conditions and with less agitated minds, we can state that this outcome is positive for the country and for us. Now it's important that the lessons from the not so distant past can be taken advantage of in everyday work, achieving the delineated tasks with full involvement.

In ending, I would like to warmly thank activists and workers for their involved work in all of the administration's special problem commission of our organization.

BLUE COLLAR WORKERS DISCUSS SOCIAL ILLS

Lodz GLOS ROBOTNICZY in Polish 7 Mar 83 p 4

[Article by Pawel Woldan]

[Text] The problem of social pathology is practically a fixture in the newspapers. This is no surprise, for it is an issue that concerns all members of society. What are the workers at the S Kunicki Cotton-Processing Plant in Lodz saying about this subject? We conducted the present interviews after Gen W Jaruzelski's speech at the party conference in Katowice and after publication of the variant proposals for eventual price increases. We also solicited the opinions of workers at factories in Piotrkow, Sieradz and Skierniewice provinces.

Wieslaw Psiurski (machinist): They say there's a surplus. Ordinary workers may get a little of it, but most of it winds up in the hands of a few private dealers, not to mention hustlers and speculators. They have millions, while other people cannot scrape together enough for a washing machine, a TV, or an ordinary radio....

Waclawa Pelik: Furniture is being sold in craft shops for incredibly high prices--two armchairs, a sofa and eight chairs for 600,000 zlotys! They say that out loud. What for? To take away the rest of our health...? I do not mean we ought to shut down the craft shops, but let craftsmen provide services instead of just producing things from the materials we turn out. I'll give you an example: we make towels. A private dealer buys them up, cuts them into pieces, puts overlock around the edges, dips them in glue, and we have washcloths. It is not enough that they destroy our work, they earn money from it. And the law allows them to...! They say a craftsman ought to earn more, because he does everything by himself in his shop. All right, let him earn three times more. I have 6, let him have 18, but not tens of thousands.

Wieslaw Psiurski: Farmers also say that they must have more, since their money goes into the means of production. But how much more? Besides, factory production facilities are paid for by workers too. There was modernization and now all of us have to pay for the money spent. So that's not a strong argument at all...and in general I would advise that we take a closer look at



agriculture. We have to sell part of the grain crop for dollars, and there are places in the country where crops can be grown but are not grown. The only trouble is, we eat bread everywhere. There was a guy near Strykow who had grain. He stopped sowing it and planted Christmas trees, because that pays better. From time to time we hear about taxes that are supposed to equalize incomes, but we only hear about them.

Michal Grzywinski (mechanic): I read something about taxes the other day. What they do is kill extra production. Naturally, we produce market goods, and hardly anyone now wants to produce extra, because if he earns more than 10,000 he will be taxed...

Waclawa Pelik: An operator in our plant has 800 zlotys for extra production. That just exceeds here 10,000 limit. If she pays the lowest tax--5 percent--that takes away 600 zlotys. She has 200 left. Is it worth her while to get up in the morning for such money?

Wieslaw Psiurski: When I think about all that, it seems to me we ought to have really fair taxation of private dealers and take more effective action against speculators and loafers.... It is probably the lack of consistency that is hurting us the most. All talk and no results. That upsets people the most....

Waclawa Pelik: Laws and decrees keep coming out. We do consider them important, but.... We were supposed to talk about social ills, so maybe I will give you an example of one. One day the Sejm passes an antialcoholism law, and the next day the minister of commerce announces they are going to sell up to half a liter of vodka after the two liters of wine... There is another law on idlers. What have we done besides make a law? They are still standing in doorways and hustling....

Michal Grzywinski: I wonder if we really do not know who the hustlers are. After all, the guys who stand around Pewex are not hiding anything. Always the same faces... Maybe it would be better to tell the public straight off that they are safe from prosecution....

Wieslaw Psiurski: I happened to be in Central [a department store in Lodz] when leather jackets came in. When I looked at the faces, I began to feel sorry there was not anyone who could put away that whole bunch. Later on you could buy the same jackets from private dealers for twice as much. I wonder what those people are up to--the ones who do nothing but walk around Central all day in shirtsleeves and check whatever turns up at the stands. They have got to be speculators. Is it so hard to catch them...? What upsets me the most is that social misfits are getting factory jobs. There was also drunkenness and thefts before, but when the speculators were rooted out and forced to do honest work, the thefts stopped. Now we have a seller's market again. There thefts and money for liquor....

Waclawa Pelik: I had high hopes after the party's resolution on social monitoring. I was in a workers' antispeculation group and...it was such a letdown.... We went to a store only once. The sale clerks were ready for it.

Wieslaw Psiurski: I remember workers' teams from the 1950's. We did not know each other. Everything was monitored, not just stores but entire districts. We only wrote reports; the rest was taken care of by the authorities. After the war we had even more speculation than now. There were not any goods either, yet we managed to wipe it out....

Jerzy Kaszuba (chairman of a youth organization): We were going to organize young people's groups, but we soon gave up the idea. You would nab some hustler at a bazaar or in a factory workshop, and he would pay a 5,000 zloty fine, since he has that figured into his business. Then he would threaten to cut you up with a razor. The problem is not how to form teams, but how to make speculation unprofitable....

Wieslaw Psiurski: Sentences that do not fit the crime have been upsetting workers for a long time. Factories have dishonest employees too. For crimes involving 3,000-4,000 zlotys they get a year or two in prison. Yet we read about abuses involving millions of zlotys where the sentences are lighter.

Waclawa Pelik: We were talking about parasitism and speculation, but there is another problem that disturbs women in particular. A year ago the streets were safer. But now we hear all the time that a taxi driver was murdered, or a girl was robbed in a public restroom. And what is worse, more and more often the culprits are young people....

Michal Grzywinski: When I was a teenager, there was not a single evening I did not have someplace to go. Inexpensive parties were organized where you could dance and drink wine. But where are they supposed to go now? To Maxim's [a Warsaw discotheque]?

Waclawa Pelik: That Maxim's is a hangout for crooks. What honest laborer can afford to blow thousands of zlotys in one night? It is nothing but an insult to workers.

Wieslaw Psiurski: And how the young kids look on! One in a thousand can afford that kind of diversion. The others forget about it, but there are some who begin to wheel and deal. They will steal, buy and sell things. Such money is spent quickly, and besides, there is a lot of temptation. They are impressed by foreign clothes and then cars, and usually they end up as criminals.

Michal Grzywinski: When I was still in school, I knew my district cop very well. He used to come around to homes and talk to parents, and he would ask the kids what they were doing. If anyone was not working or going to school, the cop would give them a hard time. Now I do not know if we even have a district cop....

Waclawa Pelik: My 9-year-old knows where the speakeasy is and where the hustlers are operating in the bazaars. The child knows, everyone knows, but does anything come of it? Getting back to alcoholism: Minister Krasinski announces that sugar will cost 125 zlotys. I would like to ask, Why don't they add another half a kilogram per ration card? It would last forever. Otherwise, only speculators and bootleggers will be able to afford the larger amount. For them 125 zlotys is nothing, as long as they can buy....

"I really cannot figure out," said Zofia Dregier, a seamstress from Wolczanka, "Why the stores do not have any merchandise in stock and yet you can get anything in the black market. Surely someone is to blame for that. It is also high time we started getting after people who do poor work and neglect their responsibilities; crooks are taking advantage of this, and speculation is increasing. And it is us workers who suffer the most.

"If the prices are high now, we should at least be able to buy in the stores. Me and my friends cannot afford to buy such a basic item as pantyhose in the market. It seems to me the police and social factors can be most effective here. It is a good thing here are also representatives of workplaces in the antispeculation groups. I am sure they are doing their duty.

"We have to clamp down on all the idlers who are freeloading off us. The Sejm had meetings about this, and when the Sejm decides something, we ought to follow through...."

Jacek Staryga, a worker at the Provincial Sanitary-Epidemiological Station in Skierniewice, shared his observations with us. "I think one of the reasons for our present economic difficulties is an inability to come up with a system that would allow not only industrial plants and construction companies, but also offices and agencies to pay for work that has actually been done. In my opinion, the fight against various manifestations of social pathology--wastefulness, theft or speculation--will be effective only when we instill in the public a respect for work and its products. For many years we have been dealing with a peculiar phenomenon: the same people who complain at home about the quality of one product or another tolerate deficiencies in their own workplace.

"I also believe that many mistakes are still being made in managing the economy. On the one hand there is an effort to eliminate excessive inflation, while on the other hand ill-considered decisions are creating that inflation. Sometimes I get the impression that the efforts to revive the economy are too often mere window dressing, and thus ineffective. The situation should change for the better if workers' self-management bodies have a say in the running of workplaces and in the decisionmaking process."

"Indeed, various abuses are widespread in our country," stated Henryk Opala, a sawyer from the plywood factory in Piotrkow. "Gen Jaruzelski was right when he spoke about that in Katowice in such harsh language. There is no lack of loafers in our factory. All they do is try to figure out how to get through their 8 hours without working too hard. And they have friends who help them to goof off.

"Near the factory recently, some ingenious hustler set up a beer-stand... under an awning. Beer with a piece of cheese costs 40 zlotys, and business goes on the whole day. This is happening in the industrial district. People are guzzling beer instead of working. Who issued a license for such a business?

"And what is happening in front of the liquor stores? The same people, the drunks and vodka dealers, hang out there. When such a bootlegger goes through the line three times, he has 15 bottles to sell. He can make 5,000-6,000 from that in 1 day. Or let's take the furniture store on Sulejowska Street. There are many people in line there who make as much as 10,000. That way they can have money for vodka and not work.

"You ask what must be done to put a stop to all that. I think we know what must be done, but it always ends in talk. There is too much cronyism and various cliques. An ordinary guy can only be afraid of being robbed, beaten or cheated. The punishments for idlers and hoodlums are too light. Why can they choose jobs which they soon quit anyway? They ought to be put in special work gangs, like the ones for snow removal."

2100

CSO: 2600/619

POLISH RADIO AIRS RECORDED 'UNDERGROUND' CONVERSATION

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 26 Apr 83 p 4

[Article: "A Radio Broadcast from the Underground: The Inside Story of the Life of 'Conspirators'"]

[Text] On Sunday, the 24th of this month, at 5:20 pm, Polish Radio, in Program I, presented to its listeners a second program entitled "A Radio Broadcast from the Underground." Not quite 4 months ago, Polish Radio had broadcast a program by the same title, featuring conversations of leaders of the so-called Temporary Coordinating Commission of the Independent, Self-Governing Trade Union [NSZZ] Solidarity and leaders of the Gdansk underground. The conversations at that time were mainly about the political program [of Solidarity] and about the confusion among those who were closely associated with the leadership of the Gdansk underground.

The broadcast of the 24th of this month dealt with matters of concern to the Wroclaw underground--strictly speaking, the events involving the self-proclaimed [Solidarity] chairman of the region, Jozef Pinior, who was recently arrested by the Security Service of the Ministry of Internal Affairs [MSW].

The broadcast featured a conversation between two women. The first was Jolanta Wolf-Wasiuk, a former employee of the Governing Board of the Lower Silesia Region of NSZZ "Solidarity", who at present is a close associate of successive leaders of the regional conspiracy in Lower Silesia and who is a former contact of Jozef Pinior with the remaining members of the so-called Temporary Coordinating Commission [TKK] and the leaders of other regions; the second was Ewa Wozniak, holder of a master's degree in ethnography, [also] a former employee of the Governing Board of the region, who provided liaison between Jolanta Wolf-Wasiuk and the Wroclaw underground.

And here are original excerpts from the conversation which was featured in the broadcast of the 24th of this month; these excerpts deal with requirements of an underground safe place.

J[olanta] asserts: The apartment must have a bath, and there should be good coffee and cigarettes, cooking....

E[wa] She is a homebody, you know, she cannot hide that. And, besides, the girl has gone crazy because, you know, she is simply dazzled [by him]. He is the wisest, he is the greatest genius; in general, you know, he is above criticism, you know. She has to do this and that. Indeed, he feels good with her, because she cooks for him and does his laundry; they drink good coffee and smoke good cigarettes, and can have anything else [they want], you know, because he also has [these] dollars....

[E] These dollars are sent here....

[J] That is the point; listen. Indeed, he offers workers Gauloise cigarettes. Indeed, they see [what is going on]. She doesn't at all know what is what, do you understand? She doesn't understand anything at all, and has no hunch. You know, she bought so many cartons of Gauloise cigarettes. With whose money did she buy them? Dammit! What's more, she wears perfume and pajamas which were bought at the PKO [Polish State Foreign Currency Stores]. Well, she is again angling for an easy life.... This wh[ore] during this internment period bought herself a pair of shoes for 12,000 zlotys and she bought herself a sheepskin coat. Just between us, I think that those women who are in hiding are better off than we who are here....

[E] Under the pretext of conspiracy, they actually expose themselves to danger and they do their work; but listen, old gal, each one of them has a woman. Well, each one of them, you know. A fellow arrives; he has a wife and a child. He arrives with a girl. Where should they sleep? In one bed? Of course, in one room. In one room, and then how? No keeping up of appearances, old gal. Indeed, I am not a prude, you know. I have been in various situations in my life. I ceased to be virtuous a long time ago, you know. I also had various men, but [I have always observed] the principle of decency, at least, you know, you should consider other people, old boy!

[J] But listen, she really...she had a hard time. I sometimes suspect that she, in general, used to borrow pantyhose, that she did not own any pantyhose; but now Teddy Bear doesn't say anything when she wears torn pantyhose?

The radio commentator explains:

Teddy Bear, who is spoken about in the recording, is an endearing description of Jozef Pinior; on the other hand, the person about whom Jolanta Wolf-Wasiuk and Ewa Wozniak speak so unkindly is Pinior's first lady love, Maria Chojnacka.

[E] What the hell does he need cognac for? Indeed, people cannot [even] get vodka when they need it. And, in general, what is the sense of drinking in the underground?

[J] The only sense is that he raises his blood pressure in this manner-- because cognac stands there day and night. You know, the PKO cognac. The beer is from the PKO, the medicines are from the PKO; well, they spend dollars there as we do zlotys, you know.

[E] Well, it was not so with Baska and Wladek; they had no dollars to buy things. Baska, indeed, smoked foreign cigarettes.

[The radio commentator:] It is necessary to explain that this excerpt from the conversation refers to Wladyslaw Frasyuniuk, former chairman of the Lower Silesia Region [of Solidarity] and to Barbara Labuda, who was his contact. And here are some more excerpts from the featured conversation:

[J] I beg your pardon, I just don't want to be in jail. I truly do not want to. Of course, I can [spend time in jail] if I have at least 50 percent security; but in this case I do not have even 1 percent security. This is a parody.

[E] People really do believe [in our cause]; Jolka, in industrial plants and, incidentally, in our publishing enterprise, not a damn thing is being done, but people actually believe [that something is being done]. They are trying to do something.

[J] And they [the conspirators] do not realize this at all. Listen--here we have a factory worker by his machine, who after all, risks the freedom of his family of several persons, and they [the conspirators] have feathered their nests, you know. They have feathered their nests and are chirping [like birds]. And such a little fellow [Jozef Pinior] is walking around with a gold thread around his neck.

[E] He doesn't think at all; he has no intuition.

[J] He probably has always had such tendencies, because his is a bit like the English. You know, the way that gays are...

[E] She [Maria Chojnacka] bought him in Pewex a nice little velvet neckscarf for Christmas. And everything has been bought in Pewex, and everything is from Pewex. I talked with Baska, and we simply threw up our hands, you know. Well, I do not give a fart about it, if that is how they value people. I recruited kids, not mentioning the fact that I really did a lot of organizing, you know.

[J] You knocked yourself out like a dumb donkey.

[J] Here, under these conditions, we pinch every penny, and they only put people in jeopardy. At this moment I no longer have any, absolutely any, illusions. In one moment I would pull myself out of this cesspool, in one moment. This is a horrible situation; you know, I had scruples, and I say: Baska, do you continue to have scruples? Because I kept explaining to her what the whole business was about. And she says: All the more so, if so many of these facts were kept secret. Because I tell her this and that, and she says: Look, I kicked my husband out because he had been whoring, and I myself am receiving some woman's husband with a whore? Under the pretext of conspiracy. Listen, Baska was indignant. She was indignant. I am not suited to such life.

[E] Dammit, if they want to sleep together, let them simply come out and let them live a normal life and not, dammit, make of it a tremendous conspiracy. I was in such a situation....

[J] And do you know which one is that woman-chaser?

[E] Well?

[J] We had known each other before that. In the summer, we met in the office of the Governing Board [of Solidarity], and [then] I met him in the street, still before 30 December [sic]. He says: I am taking you with me. My mother had already gone to bed, and we just sat and talked. And that fellow suddenly wanted me, he simply wanted me. I thought to myself: I am not going to set with this guy, because he is going to attack me [sexually]. I simply do not like such guys. I take him in for safekeeping, and he simply makes advances to me, though he has a wife and a child. He has a wife who understands him and worries about him all the time. And then, of course, he was interned, and then, when I was already working at a hospital, he by coincidence came to the hospital to take care of some matter. That was, I think, during the first month of my work there; and I found out that he was leaving [Poland]. I asked him whether he was leaving alone. And he said: Well, no, because I am leaving with my wife and my child. And when he happens to meet a virgin, then why not; and here he is leaving with his wife and child. How triply dishonest this is. He is dishonest with himself and with his wife. And he is dishonest with me. And, in general, all of this is not worth a damn.

No attempt has been made to edit any of the quoted excerpts from the conversation. We have purposefully omitted matters which are not fit for publication because of their suggestiveness. A moral and social assessment of the underground "dialogue" should be left to our radio listeners and newspaper readers.

9577

CSO: 2600/804



## ROMANIA

### BRIEFS

REMOVAL OF DEPUTY MINISTER--The President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Nicu Constantin is removed [se destituie] from his position as deputy minister of the machine building industry. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 32, 3 May 83 p 3]

GOVERNMENTAL PERSONNEL CHANGES--The President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Gheorghe-Iustin Dimitriu is relieved of his position as deputy minister of the chemical industry. Comrades Ion Bivolaru and Gheorghe Saya are appointed deputy ministers of the chemical industry. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 32, 3 May 83 p 3]

PRESIDENTIAL COUNSELOR--The President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Florea Dumitrescu is appointed to the position of counselor to the President of the Socialist Republic of Romania, minister state secretary. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 32, 3 May 83 p 3]

CSO: 2700/223

LCY BYLAWS COMMISSION SECRETARY INTERVIEWED

Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 14 May 83 SEDAM DANA supplement pp 4,5

[Interview with Slavko Filipi, secretary of the LCY Bylaws Commission, by Bero Vlaho: "Why Party Members Are Complaining"; date and place not specified]

[Text] The LCY Bylaws Commission has recently been receiving many more complaints than before. According to a recent analysis, in just 8 months the commission reached half again as many appeals against expulsion from the LC and grievances concerning contested length of membership in the party than in the entire 4 years between the 11th and 12th LCY Congresses. This datum certainly deserves attention, and that was the occasion for us to call upon Slavko Filipi, secretary of the Bylaws Commission.

"The commission has discussed this matter and concluded that one place that should be looked to to explain the increased number of complaints is the increased number of political-ideological measures pronounced. This is in turn a consequence of considerably greater activity throughout the League of Communists and of the greater drive for discipline and responsibility. Nor should one overlook the assessment that addressing the commission also signifies confidence in the party. Aside from that, the number of political-ideological measures pronounced has also increased because of the present political and economic situation. Given the major economic difficulties and also the more aggressive onset of nationalism, people come into various conflicts with the world around them, disagreements occur more frequently, etc. The League of Communists today has a more offensive attitude toward these occurrences and problems and political-ideological accountability and differentiation have been tightened up considerably."

[Question] It has been noted that bodies of the LC are pronouncing political-ideological measures more frequently than organizations of the LC. What do you think about that?

[Answer] This "leapfrogging" over the basic organization of the LC may be an indication of its inability, but also of a lack of confidence in it. In this case the use of the so-called "abbreviated procedure" would not be a good thing.

## Why Are People Being Expelled From the LC?

[Question] What under present conditions is most frequently the reason for expulsion from the League of Communists?

[Answer] On the basis of appeals and grievances addressed the LCY Bylaws Commission one can conclude that most expulsions from the LC have been pronounced because of omissions in performance, violation of self-management relations, and then the spreading of nationalism or nationalistic behavior. Expulsion has also been a measure pronounced frequently for cases of abuse of official position, self-seeking, clannishness, failure to honor the principle of democratic centralism of the LCY, conflicts with the political-ideological platform and principles set forth in the bylaws, as well as offending leadership personnel in a work organization, local community or the opstina.

The grounds for expulsions have not so frequently been disrespect for constitutionality and legality, breaches of social compacts and self-management accords, violation of work discipline, and then disruption of political-ideological unity and the ability to act of a particular basic organization of the LC or higher body, hostile behavior, disrespect for our system, creation of dissension in the collective and the spreading of falsehoods and disinformation. There have also been expulsions because of operation from the positions of the Cominform, because of expression of disagreement with our policy of nonalignment in international relations, etc. This measure has also been invoked because of refusal of tasks as well as because of criminal acts.

[Question] How does the commission go about ascertaining the state of the facts, that is, verifying the allegations contained in appeals filed by those who have been expelled?

[Answer] The commission's procedure and operating methods has been precisely defined in its operating procedure. Every complaint or grievance is taken up conscientiously and in detail in order to arrive at the objective truth. All the available documentation is compiled in the proceedings, the conformity of the previous proceedings to the bylaws and the allegations in the appeal are looked into, etc. This is done by ad hoc working groups of our commission in the field, including proceedings in the presence of the person whose case is under consideration. Consideration is always paid to democratic procedure, respect for the individual and the human aspect. This, of course, must not influence the adoption of appropriate party measures.

I want to emphasize that the commission, abiding by the bylaws and proceedings as defined in the operating procedure, conscientiously and patiently undertakes to settle each case with communist responsibility however difficult and complicated it may be. After all, we are dealing with people, members of the LC, with their problems, errors and shortcomings, but also with their personal troubles and complicated situations they find themselves in. It is often of vital importance to this person that our decision be fair and consistent with principle, and it must always show human understanding as well.

At the same time, the commission is resolute, unrelenting and consistent whenever it is dealing with activity from positions opposed to the League of Communists, violation of self-management, nationalistic activity, an attack on public property, violation of democratic centralism, of the unity and ability to act of the LC, activity detrimental to the image of the party member and all other forms of violations of the standards set forth in the bylaws and the LCY Program.

[Question] There has been criticism that complaints and appeals are ruled on rather slowly.

[Answer] It is the commission's position, and I would also say it is a principle that decisions on complaints and appeals be made as rapidly and effectively as possible. But sometimes we do not manage to do that because of various objective reasons. Often the individual cases are rather "entangled," and time is needed to check everything out. What I mean is that although we do strive and try to be fast and effective, we are also quite mindful of not preferring speed to conscience. It is our principle that we must not overlook a single, even the smallest, element which might have an effect on the fairness of the decision.

Only Five Appeals From Slovenia. Why?

[Question] It is evident from the data presented by your commission that nevertheless most of the appeals against expulsion were rejected.

[Answer] That is so. But by no means does that lead to the conclusion that the commission is "strict" or "unbending." Every appeal, as I have already said, is checked in detail, and in order to arrive at the full truth, ad hoc groups are established for individual cases consisting of members of the LCY Bylaws Commission who investigate the dispute comprehensively and conscientiously on the spot.

Since you have taken note of the fact that the commission has rejected most of the appeals, I must say that in a detailed check we have concluded that most of the appeals submitted were without basis and that in the prior proceeding the bylaws organs of the LC in the opstinas, cities, provinces and republics had been conscientious and responsible in examining and deciding the case. In such cases, of course, our commission also rejected such appeals. Appeals are honored or honored in part usually in those cases when the person filing the appeal has presented new factors and facts.

[Question] We have also noted in the data of the LCY Bylaws Commission that the number of appeals varies greatly from republic to republic. For example, since the 12th LCY Congress the commission has received more than two-thirds of the total number of appeals from SR [Socialist Republic] Serbia and from Croatia, yet only five from Slovenia. How do you explain that fact?

[Answer] Some examinations have suggested the conclusion that the small number of appeals from Slovenia is influenced by the methods of the courts or councils of comrades which in that republic rule on appeals in the preliminary

proceedings. In order to see how true that is the LCY Bylaws Commission has included in its work program an analysis of the experience of the councils and courts of comrades in Slovenia. I hope that after a comprehensive debate of this experience of theirs we will be able to say something more, and to recommend it if it proves to be worthwhile.

#### Expulsion as a Form of Revenge

[Question] At the last meeting of the LCY Bylaws Commission it was said that sometimes certain measures, even that most serious measure--expulsion from membership in the LC, result from a desire for revenge against members who have pointed up errors, oversights and responsibility of certain leaders in certain places.

[Answer] There have been such cases. Of course, then the appeal is honored. In such cases labels are carelessly put on an individual, he is said to have come into conflict with the policy of the LC, to have departed from the ideology of the LC, to have violated the principles of democratic centralism, to have shattered the unity of the LC, and so on. Yet all of this is without specific facts and arguments which would have confirmed and proved it. Errors and shortcomings from the distant past which no one had mentioned previously are usually attributed to such individuals. Sometimes the case for these things is more extensive and longer than the specific error for which the individual has, for example, been expelled from the LC. We have also noted that there is a lack of gradualness in the application of political-ideological measures; usually the extreme measure of expulsion from the LC is taken up immediately, and as a rule that indicates to us that there are serious political problems and conflicts in the places the appeal comes from.

[Question] Does that mean that such problems have broader political-ideological importance exceeding the actual act of weighing the soundness and correctness of the measure pronounced from the standpoint of the bylaws?

[Answer] Exactly. I therefore think that in such cases the party cannot leave matters with proceedings for examining the grounds of the political-ideological measure pronounced, but it must call upon the organs of the League of Communists to become involved in resolving and clearing up such situations. I think in general that it would be useful and necessary to analyze and examine more thoroughly all the kinds of problems, cases and situations in the LC that are indicated by the appeals coming from particular places. This would help to round out the assessment of the ideological-political situation and climate in the individual organizations of the LC and in broader areas, and it would be possible to derive from this tasks for action in order to overcome certain shortcomings and deformations. This should occasionally be done by the bylaws commission, but also by organs of the LC at all levels.

#### An Appeal to the Congress--Decision of the Commission

[Question] A considerable number of appeals addressed to the 12th LCY Congress, and this was also the case with past congresses, were turned over to the LCY Bylaws Commission to be ruled on. In your opinion is it proper for an

appeal addressed to the highest party organ in the country to be turned over to a commission, regardless of its high authority and membership?

[Answer] Before I directly answer the question, I must say that this is a consequence of the practice allowed by the bylaws for appeals to be submitted to the congress right up until the last moment or indeed even while the congress is in session. Of course, in such a situation one cannot expect the congress to rule on an appeal, since both time and the procedure precisely set forth in the operating procedure are required to examine the allegations of each appeal. So, the congress turns over such appeals to the LCY Bylaws Commission. And now to answer what you asked me. It seems to me that it would be more proper for the congress itself to rule on appeals which have been addressed to it. Of course, if this is to be feasible as a practical matter, provision has to be made for the proper conditions. In other words, it would be necessary to state the date by which appeals may be submitted to the congress so that it might be able to rule on every one.

[Question] The commission is still receiving petitions for recognition of party membership from the wartime or even prewar period. Some people have said that such petitions should no longer be accepted or that at least a date should be set after which it will not be possible to submit petitions for recognition of contested longevity from that period which is now relatively remote.

[Answer] There have indeed been those on the commission who felt that a specific decision should set a date, a year, by which individuals must submit such petitions to bodies concerned with the bylaws, just as was the case with petitions for awarding the "1941 Commemorative Partizan Medal" and for recognizing service in the war. However, the view prevailed that this should not be done. The appeals which have been filed concerning contested longevity in the LC indicate that there are more and more cases in which mostly older members of the League of Communists, usually already retired, are petitioning to settle the question of their longevity in the LC or some interruption which occurred in their membership. It is usually a question of the personal desire of these individuals to resolve their case and to have a clean record with the party. That is, recognition of that longevity obviously is not necessary to them so that they might run for some political position nor to obtain some responsible post. Nor do they need it because of their length of work service or their pension. We have found that these people set about to resolve this problem of theirs exclusively from personal and ethical motives. This is evidence of how highly they esteem the League of Communists, it confirms their confidence in the party and the desire to have their personal case resolved now, at the end of their working life. I am therefore convinced that the commission took the right position in not placing a deadline for filing petitions for recognition of contested party longevity.

[Question] Finally, I would turn to some of the cases of expulsion from the LC which are by nature very sensitive. There are examples, and this can also be seen from certain appeals filed with the LCY Bylaws Commission, that sometimes expulsion or removal from the records of the LC is invoked toward those who were prevented from fulfilling their obligations as members of the League

of Communists by illness, old age or other justifiable personal and family reasons.

[Answer] I feel, and that is indeed the view of the commission, that there is no need to take such strict, nor even much less severe political-ideological measures, against those members. Incidentally, every basic organization of the LC is backed up by the LCY Bylaws in not doing this. After all, Provision 26 of the LCY Bylaws specifically states that the basic organization of the LC may exempt from the obligation to attend meetings and engage in other activities those of its members who because of illness, old age or other good reasons are unable to fulfill those obligations. The basic organization ought to apply this profoundly compassionate provision of the bylaws and should do everything so that such individuals are not removed from the rolls and remain members of their party to the end of their lives.

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CONTROVERSIAL MILOSEVIC EXPLAINS SELF IN INTERVIEW

Belgrade DUGA in Serbo-Croatian No 236, 12 Mar 83 pp 29-31

[Interview with Prof Nikola Milosevic, full professor in the School of Philosophy of Belgrade University, by Branislav Kovacic: "Lenin Was Not an Ideologue of Thievery"; date and place not specified]

[Text] For a long time fierce polemics have been the principal feature of our intellectual situation. The discussion has concerned the relationship between Leninism and Stalinism, the freedom of creativity, the literature which has attempted to portray the year 1948 in artistic form, publishing activity, the responsibility and moral integrity of reviewers, and abuse of art for political purposes.

Judgments on these topics have even been pronounced in the most authoritative bodies of the party.

One of the "most controversial" polemicists is Nikola Milosevic, full professor in the School of Philosophy at Belgrade University. His views have aroused sharp polemical reactions, some of which we are offering in fragmentary form.

[Box, pp 30-31]

What Do People Have Against Milosevic?

There has already been discussion in public about the fact that the protagonists of the current "criticism of Leninism" aim their criticism first toward "revolutionary terror," representing it as an altogether simple form of plunder, and its champions as ordinary plunderers. The attempt to compromise the Revolution and its leading figures is carried out here above all on the ethical plane. There is no doubt that the moralizing note is the one counted on as the effective instrument in winning the broadest confidence in the "criticism." (Radivoj Cveticanin, KNJIZEVNA REC, No 205, 25 February 1983)

And while the professor is so strict and unrelenting toward Lenin and October, he is very well disposed toward the reactionary, mystic, clerical-theocratic, messianistic and pious thought in the Russia of the time, one of whose variants (our own domestic variety) ingloriously ended up in Ljoticism and Nazism.



The professor has made us an abundant gift of selections in several volumes from the works of Berdyayev, Shestov, Rozanov, Mereshkovskiy (we expect even Pobedonoshchev). (Hasan Grabcanovic, OSLOBODJENJE, No 12455, 26 February 1983)

I do not avoid replying: books should not be banned, much less burned, but extreme responsibility (professional, moral and political) should be shown in deciding which manuscript should become "the property of the public." (Kasim Prohib, NIN, No 1677, 20 February 1983)

Now it is not only Stalin who is being attacked, but also Lenin, indeed even Marx is being attacked. War is killing, we all killed, which means that we are all the same, as though it were not important why and in the name of what. Just let me get ahold of those to whom all guns are the same, be they Ustasha, Chetnik or those of the liberators. (Kosta Nadj, INTERVJU, No 46, 4 March 1983)

Can one tolerate and support the opinion of Milosevic to the effect that the October, and accordingly every other, Revolution was a struggle waged by highway bandits.... (Jure Bilic, POLITIKA, No 24908, 9 February 1982)

Nikola Milosevic's main discovery is contained in the realization that it was not Stalin, as he himself wrote not so long ago, but Lenin who was mainly at fault, i.e., the inspirer and theoretician of the expropriation which according to Nikola Milosevic is nothing other than ordinary thievery. (Davor Kacar, OKO, No 279, 25 November-9 December 1982)

In an interview for DUGA Milosevic spelled out those attitudes of his which have been disputed the most, which, we hope, will shed more light on the essence and actual subject matter out of which the recent polemics have arisen.

I Am Not the "Supreme Arbiter"

[Question] It is said of you that you have the "real power of a supreme arbiter in the most sensitive matters of cultural life today."

[Answer] In that case one has to first be clear as to exactly what is meant by the word "arbiter." If an arbiter is someone who makes judgments in the most sensitive matters of cultural life because some sort of specifically political power has been concentrated in his hands, then I certainly do not have that power. There is no political forum or official whom I could influence, nor is that kind of influence something in life that I strive for. On the other hand if an arbiter is someone who has some clan of his own through which and by means of which he exerts influence on cultural events, then I must say that I do not have such a clan, nor have I ever had. Incidentally, what could I offer anyone who would be willing to follow me by the logic of membership in some clan, when I am not a member of any jury, nor of any editorial board, nor of any publishing council, nor of a housing commission, not even of any professional association, including the Writers' Association? Or perhaps my power as a "supreme arbiter" is manifested in the fact that I often speak out in public? If that is the case, then I must say that I have never appeared

anywhere in public on my own initiative, and those who invite me to take part certainly do not do so because they think they might have some personal benefit from it.

[Question] Yet how do you explain your polemical popularity?

[Answer] If I have some kind of "polemical popularity"--and that is not for me to judge--then that might only be because I strive to introduce a certain tone of dialogue into public discussions. On one occasion Andric said that we do not have good dramatic literature, because good drama requires a dialogue, and too often we have conducted dialogues only after gunsights. I think that something similar might also be said of our polemics. It is high time that our dialogues cease to be conducted over gunsights and become what by their nature they should be: verbal duels without any sort of political repercussions or repercussions in criminal law.

"Cominform" and "Anticommunist" Books

[Question] Why do you distinguish political (revolutionary?) from theoretical socialism?

[Answer] That distinction actually goes back to Dostoyevsky. In my book "Dostojevski kao mislilac" [Dostoyevsky as a Thinker] I tried to put that distinction in concrete terms and to check out how relevant it still was. Dostoyevsky, that is, noted two opposed currents among the Russian socialists. On the one hand were those who displayed a readiness to neglect the ultimate goals of the revolution on behalf of achieving certain immediate goals, and on the other were those who had the ultimate goal of the revolutionary undertaking hovering constantly before their eyes. Dostoyevsky referred to the former as political socialists and the latter as theoretical socialists. I tried in my book to show by analyzing the political views of Bakunin, Nechaev, Rosa Luxemburg, Kautsky, Lenin, Lukacs, Lunacharsky and Trotsky that this distinction has not lost any of its relevance and that it cuts to the very heart of certain problems we confront today.

[Question] The year 1948 has again become topical in literature. About 20 novels have now been written in our country on this topic. We now hear judgments that we are dealing with a "Goli Otok literature." Why in your opinion are these assessments being made? What in general do you think about artistic treatment of this historical topic?

[Answer] I think that we should first of all recall the fact that a literary work cannot be evaluated according to the nature of the historical subject matter the writer chose or according to the topical dimension of the artistic structure of that work. The essential thing is not the kind of material or the kind of topic the writer chose--the essential thing is from what angle and in what perspective that topic and material are illuminated in his work. Yet some of our public figures have a tendency to disqualify books devoted to the problem of Goli Otok as being "Cominform" or "anticommunist" on the mere grounds of their choice of topics. We have consequently witnessed the paradox that such a radically antidogmatic work as "Tren 2" [Moment 2] is proclaimed

to be Cominform or anticommunist literature, while at the same time the pages of certain newspapers with a large circulation are opened wide to a pronounced Cominform ideology even without any sort of critical reservation. Thus the popular magazine SVIJET allowed a certain Milan Nikolic to glorify in its columns what amounted to a Cominform poster of his in lines purporting to be a poem devoted to the October Revolution, in which this new-found collaborator of SVIJET declares that Russia is his homeland and in which he says among other things:

I declare:  
That I am dying for this country.  
I declare:  
That I live for this country.

I declare:  
That I wage war for this country.

...

I declare:  
That I describe it  
And in describing  
That I glorify it.

I declare:  
That I am sitting in prison because of it;

...

Having it for a friend  
Is like having God to wait on you.

(Milan Nikolic:  
"Postojbina Sunca"  
[The Sun's Native  
Land], Pozarevac,  
1967, pp 19 and 13)

And to make it all still grander, that same Milan Nikolic has been included because of these and similar "artistic" merits in an anthology of world poetry published in Sofia. And so this kind of favorite of the anthologists in Sofia has been given an opportunity in the pages of SVIJET--again without any sort of editorial caveat--to declare that there are not "three communisms (Marx's, Lenin's and Stalin's)" (SVIJET, No 1291, 28 February 1983, p 20, column 3) or, in other words, that there is one and only one communism of Marx, Lenin and Stalin! So this, then, is what we have come to--so for my part I will repeat the melancholy sigh of an official in Sarajevo which recently we were able to read in the pages of the daily press.

[Question] What do you think about the argument that in our country views in polemics and dialogues in the cultural arena often crystallize along republic and provincial lines?

[Answer] The example which I gave in answering your previous question--and it is neither the first nor the only one--shows that unfortunately it does indeed happen that views in polemics crystallize along republic and provincial lines. It would be enough for KNJIZEVNE NOVINE to refuse to print Milan Nikolic's Stalinistic pamphleteering piece and for that piece to be directed against me for this chansonnier of our domestic Stalinist ideology to be received in the pages of SVIJET with a welcome that he probably could find nowhere else except with the Sofia anthologists. (This is only one of the cases along the line Sarajevo--Belgrade, they have been arising in both directions--editors' note.)

#### The October Revolution Was Not "Highway Banditry"

[Question] Why did you assert, at least so it is written in certain newspaper reports, that the October Revolution was "highway banditry"?

[Answer] I never asserted that the October Revolution was "highway banditry." That untruth was launched by two domestic neo-Stalinist ideologues--Milan Nikolic and Davar Kacar--and a segment of our public took up that falsification of theirs on trust. The truth is only that I criticized the actions of what were called the boyeviki, i.e., armed detachments whose activity Lenin supported and sanctioned in theory and whose task was to attack the banks and convoys carrying money in order to replenish the depleted party treasury. However, the actions of the boyeviki went on for an entire decade before the October Revolution. Thus, say, the armed hit-and-run attack on the convoy carrying money in Tiflis took place in 1907, while the October Revolution broke out, as we all know quite well, all of 10 years later. Accordingly, even if I truly did assert concerning the actions of the boyeviki that they were "highway robbery," that statement of mine could not in any way apply to the October Revolution.

[Question] And is it true that you said of Lenin that he was a thievish ideologue, that is, that the actions of the boyeviki were ordinary actions of thievery, and what do you think of the thesis that Lenin had nothing whatsoever to do with those actions?

[Answer] I will answer the last part of your question first. There is no doubt whatsoever that Lenin was the ideologue of the boyeviki. To convince ourselves of this it is sufficient to cast a glance at his article issued by way of a directive in 1905, entitled "The Tasks of Detachments of the Revolutionary Army," in which he mentions as one of the tasks of the boyeviki "confiscation of the money of the government" ("Polnoye sobraniye sochineniy," 5th edition, Vol 10, p 341). And on 30 September 1906 Lenin both generalized in theory and sanctioned the activity of the boyeviki in his article entitled "Partizan Warfare," stating as the second-place aim of these "combat groups" the "confiscation of money both from the government and also from private individuals" (Ibid., Vol 14, p 4).

It is another question, of course, how we are to interpret this otherwise indisputable fact. Certainly the actions of the boyeviki are not ordinary thievery, nor as their ideologue was Lenin an ideologue of thievery. The ordinary thief wants to fill his own pocket, but nothing of the kind ever

occurred to Lenin and his collaborators. They simply thought that in a situation because of the confluence of historical circumstances the sources of party funding had dried up, they should not stop short even of making hit-and-run attacks on banks and shipments of money. It is, then, the good old question of the relation between the means and the end, that is, the question of whether all means are permitted in order to achieve the goals of the revolution.

I think that they are not. First, all means do not lead equally toward the ultimate goal of the revolution--some may even take us very far from that goal. Second, communists must distinguish themselves from anticommunists and noncommunists not only with respect to their goals, but also with respect to their means; otherwise how will we know that their promises are to be taken seriously. Means are a matter of the concrete present time, and goals are a matter of some remote future. If, then, we truly want to achieve some new and better society, then there must be something new and better in the way of building that society.

However, because I uttered this plain and simple truth, an entire avalanche of the most widely differing ideological condemnations came down upon my head. I have been accused, for instance, of being a Tolstoyan--as though someone who is against certain forms of violence must be against all violence in general. I know very well that there must be killing in war and in revolution. However, there should exist some limit even on violence toward an enemy. I am only against those forms of violence for which there are no sort of legal, moral and human limitations, that is, against what is called terror, because I think that it is indeed possible to take and hold power by following the roads of terror, but with them it is not possible to achieve that society in which, in the words of Marx and Engels, the freedom of the individual will be a condition of freedom for all.

I have even been accused in my advocacy of views like this of calling into question our own revolution, so that one well-known wartime commander paraphrased my view like this:

"War is killing, we all killed, which means that we are all the same, as though it were not important why and in the name of what. Just let me get ahold of those to whom all guns are the same, be they Ustasha, Chetnik or those of the liberators." Of course, it is important on what behalf killing is done--but the way in which killing is done is not unimportant either. The Partizans did use guns just like the Ustashi and Chetniks, but they did not use a knife. But if it was only important "why and in the name of what," then the Partizans would have committed butchery as well. But how would the people then have believed that they truly differed from the Ustashi and Chetniks?

As for those who have proclaimed me an anticommunist because I dared to assert that the slogan "The End Justifies the Means" is not Marxist, but a Jesuit motto, I can only refer them to the fact that no one has ever compromised the idea of communism in the manner and to such an extent as those who have asserted that being a communist means advocating the use of all possible forms of violence.

## Are There Relations Between Leninism and Stalinism

[Question] In what way do you interpret the connection between Leninism and Stalinism?

[Answer] Again in this case so-called black-and-white interpretations are also the worst interpretations. An equal sign cannot be placed between Leninism and Stalinism, nor can one take the view that Leninism has nothing whatsoever to do with Stalinism. Leninism differs favorably from Stalinism at two essential points: first, Leninism assumes the existence of considerable freedoms in certain domains of the spirit (let us recall only the large number of artistic directions which flourished in the years immediately after the October Revolution), nor does it preclude even a considerable degree of certain freedoms in the domain of economic initiative (let us recall only the NEP). Second, Leninism presupposes use of instruments of terror in a manner that in political terms is relatively rational and "normal"--i.e., terror is used mainly when the historical circumstances require, and the objects of terror are predominantly those individuals and political organizations which truly could threaten the new order. However, Leninism did not build up the democratic mechanisms which would have prevented the emergence of Stalinism. Preoccupied by the problems of taking power and also the problems of holding it under extremely difficult historical circumstances, Lenin pushed certain essential issues related to realizing the ultimate goals of the revolution into the background. This substitution of historical perspectives is the only way of explaining the fact that Lenin was so fatefully late in evaluating Stalin's personality. Stalin was an exceptionally suitable individual for realizing the immediate goals of the revolution, beginning with the actions of the boyeviki and going all the way to various practical operations in the post-revolutionary period. However, from the standpoint of the ultimate goals of the revolution, Stalin could only be its gravedigger.

## The Arguments Cannot Be Disputed

[Question] What can you say about the assertion that you were very well disposed toward Russian reactionary, White Guard and clerical thought in preparing the publication "Dostojevski kao mislilac," in which several volumes were devoted to the works of such thinkers as Berdyayev, Mereshkovskiy, Shestov and Rozanov?

[Answer] It was first proclaimed that Berdyayev and Mereshkovskiy and with them other members of the so-called Russian religious-philosophical renaissance were reactionary, clerical and White Guard thinkers in the campaign conducted in our country in recent months by Milan Nikolic, already mentioned, who draws his knowledge on these thinkers from popular Soviet pamphlets for schoolchildren and soldiers and which he supplies himself with during his numerous pilgrimages to Sverdlovsk and other shrines. That this "information" of Milan Nikolic, in which even certain of our public figures have so easily placed their trust, is the fruit of a synthesis of vast ignorance and certain typical Stalinist prejudices can be demonstrated by even an altogether fleeting glance at the ideological profile of the two Russian religious philosophers incriminated--Berdyayev and Mereshkovskiy.

It should be said of Berdyayev that he held reactionary political positions only in the period of his book "Filozofija nejednakosti" [The Philosophy of Inequality], but even then it could by no means be said of him that he was a White Guardist. However, before and after this brief period in his spiritual evolution this thinker took an extremely critical attitude toward Russian tyranny and its Orthodox representatives. Thus in his book "Nova religijska svest i drustvena realnost" [The New Religious Consciousness and Social Reality], which was included in the publication "Dostojevski kao mislilac," Berdyayev says that the Russian principle of government is to "poison the blood of the Russian people and up to this very time has inspired brutal persons of all kinds" ("Novoye religioznoye soznaniye i obshchestvennost'," St. Petersburg, 1907, p 39), and he also says that Orthodoxy had made of tyranny "almost a religious dogma poisoning the minds of the people" (Ibid., p 40), while the Orthodox Church in the person of the "shameless bishops" was justifying "pogroms and atrocities by the authorities in the name of Christ" (Ibid., p 41).

In his emigre period Berdyayev returned to his early political philosophy, and thus in a book dating from 1939 he said that in western Europe he had "clearly seen that the anticommunist front was either motivated by bourgeois-capitalistic interests or was fascist in nature" ("O rabstve i svobode cheloveka" [On Slavery and Human Freedom], YMCA Press, Paris, 1939, p 17). And in his philosophical autobiography this "White Guardist" declares that from his very expulsion from Russia in 1922 he had a "Soviet orientation" in his views on foreign policy and "considered criminal" any military intervention against the Soviet Union ("Samopoznaniye" [Self-Knowledge], YMCA Press, Paris, 1949, p 358). Berdyayev also says that he considered the Soviet rule "the only Russian national rule," adding in an access of this "White Guard" euphoria that only that government "represents Russia in international relations" (Ibid., p 363).

The truth is that Mereshkovskiy made essentially different declarations in his emigre period from Berdyayev, even placing certain hopes on Hitler's aggression against the Soviet Union, but that Mereshkovskiy was not represented in the publication "Dostojevski kao mislilac." That publication included only that Mereshkovskiy before the October Revolution who did not take White Guard positions even for a moment and who in his book on Dostoyevsky says that the Russian tradition had after 1,000 years of efforts built instead of some politically real body a "monstrous chimera, half god, half beast--Orthodox tyranny, which weighs down upon Russia like a nightmare" ("Prorok russkoy revolyutsii" [Prophet of the Russian Revolution], Izdaniye M. Piroshkova, 1906, p 53).

And there are many other such or similar passages which might be written out to teach those who in their vast ignorance think that all Russian religious-philosophical thought comes down to some "undifferentiated fascist multitude." All that, however, is in vain. After all, as Joseph de Maistre said, what is not based on arguments cannot be disputed with arguments either.

ATTACKS ON FREEDOM OF RELIGION CRITICIZED

Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 30 Apr, 1-3 May 83 p 11

[Article by Nenad Ivankovic in the "Religion and Society" column: "Misuse of Atheism"]

[Text] Recently, in Yugoslavia at meetings where the activities of religious communities have been discussed, there have been warnings about how, in some circumstances, the church (and really everything religious) has been proclaimed categorically to be a primary social enemy. In some cases, this has gone a step further, and a "Marxist" settling of accounts has been (and is being) called for, to deal with religion as such. In fact, there is no lack of such instances in everyday practice, where the whole matter ends in bureaucratic sectarian strife.

Such a situation, however, has not emerged from nothing. It has the most varying concrete causes, ranging from historic-cultural-civilizational ones to pressing current events. The latter are frequently manifested in the circumstance that today essentially everything that in one way or another functions in opposition to this sociopolitical reality strives for its own purposes to manipulate religion and the church, and in the political universe of the moment, that truly has a destructive effect psychologically. This is the more so since this sort of conspiracy (which most often carries the common title of national reconciliation in nationalism) is frequently contributed by permanent church circles. Of this there is also a sufficient number of examples, both here in Yugoslavia and abroad.

Nevertheless the indicated "political" practice deserves full condemnation, but not because in some "tactical-strategic" manner it is not "clever" enough or well-conceived. Rather, it is because an unhealthy psychosis of hunting down the "criminal on duty" is being furthered, and in the final analysis, socially established policies are being compromised relative to matters of religion and the religious communities. It is also at fault because its diagnosis simply does not reflect reality.

Precisely, religious communities in Yugoslavia (as well as throughout the world) are in no way the sort of monolithic reality (despite all the direct hierarchical order) that would be able so simply and boldly to take an



authoritative political stand. This is even more the case since they are made up of believers who are in overwhelming numbers supporters of the basic course of Yugoslav society. Their theologians include many who have strived and are forcefully striving to free religion and the church of any form of politicization (and who identify with their nation); the priests work honestly and devotedly to perform their tasks and a large number of bishops try to maintain correct relationships toward Yugoslav society.

Furthermore, even if there were to be such a religious community that, from the standpoint of the sociopolitical options of its members, was less pluralistic and heterogeneous, in Yugoslav conditions it would not have the sociopolitical strength that is constantly attributed to it. In particular, it could not be difficulty (or enemy) number one for this society. From this stems the illusion (that is at the heart of those theses) that everything would be different if it weren't for that implacable foe, which leads at least to the constant quid pro quo that in those circles deflects social attention (and efforts) from the fundamental task of the moment: economic stabilization.

At the same time, this sort of ideological challenge creates an unhealthy mood toward religious communities and their members, which at times can lead to an unconstitutional and illegal form of behavior by certain legal agencies in those areas. As an illustration, it is sufficient to mention that for 2 years, a Zagreb opstina has simply refused to respond to the request of one priest that he be assigned a space for a new religious structure, even though his old edifice has been marked for razing (at the order of that same opstina). In another case, a suburban opstina for years has failed to answer (either positively or negatively) the request of a priest on its territory that he be assigned space for a religious structure (even though at present there is no church at all in that area). Then, when this priest, after waiting so long, began to hold services at his residence, the opstina immediately rushed to prosecute him.

The degree to which this behavior in itself is harmful, the amount that it demoralizes citizens who are believers (and not only them), and the degree to which it is contrary to Yugoslav policy in such matters, and finally to constitutional rights and responsibilities, need not be spelled out in more detail. It is enough simply to note that precisely this sort of attitude contributes to the strengthening and expansion of clericalism and provides "fodder" for the forces that in any case wish in every way to compromise Yugoslav society as antitheistic and lacking in prospects for believers.

Thus it seems insufficient to us just to carry out an even more decisive struggle for constitutional and legal behavior by all parties in this realm of life, if at the same time we fail to carry out a more fundamental battle against misuse of atheism and all forms of sectarian activity that are in form completely concrete sociopolitical acts, along with other duties. In other words, this means that if we are resolute in unmasking every manifest form of clericalism, we must act in the same way when faced with

sectarian manifestations, for along with everything else, that is one of the important conditions for providing that struggle with a general social confirmation. Here, we should say, there cannot be two criteria in existence, one for "their" transgressors and another one for "our" transgressors. The time is too serious for us to continue behaving in this manner. Naturally, this is not a job for just a few hours, nor will it be easy, for it presupposes not only a change in mentality, but also a fundamental self-management transformation of society and the creation of socioeconomic foundations upon which that prehistoric flora can no longer grow. Nonetheless, we should start the job right away with full seriousness.

Today no one should need proof that our society is not without conflict, that not only self-management interests are active in it, but rather, (at least underground) pluralism of varying interests is to be found. It follows from that that there is always the danger that in some way or another, someone will try to usurp human rights and freedoms. We also should never forget that those rights and freedoms are not given, but rather, in the historical play of the most varying social, cultural and political forces they are won; they do not grow in a sociopolitical vacuum, but in many ways depend on the cultural and civilization quality of the social reality, the character of its revolutionization, etc. All of that taken together ways that in this society there is room for the battle for even fuller respect and practical expansion of human rights and freedoms (as proclaimed by the Yugoslav Constitution), and among them, religious rights are certainly to be found.

Yet under Yugoslav conditions, it would be paradoxical for the church to take on this assignment. This is true not just because of certain historical circumstances, but also because the mentality of the (official) church in these lands is still such that freedom and human rights can only be perceived through the prism of the freedom and rights of the church as an institution, not infrequently with imperialistic motives and drives and in antagonism toward others. This is also true due to the fact that those rights and freedoms frequently are directed into political instrumentation for some totally different purposes and goals. Naturally, a totally different question arises as to how much the church as such would have gained and been able to accomplish in a longer-range sense and a more basic way under current circumstances if it had not won the battle for the same rights and freedoms in its own domain.

For that reason the Socialist Alliance, as the broadest front of progressive social forces and the true place for debate and agreement on ways and means for satisfying all social and political needs of the citizenry and the working people, should also have been the leader in the struggle for human rights and freedoms, including those relating to religious freedoms and rights. In other words, that means that the SAWPY should be not only the instigator of the struggle against clericalism and every other misuse of faith, but in the same measure, the opponent of sectarian politics and every misuse of atheism. That is at the same time the precondition of its true role of a "front" and its position.